

# NATIVE TRIBES AND DIALECTS OF CONNECTICUT

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

---

EXTRACT FROM THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON  
1928

## CONTENTS

	Page
Mohegan-Pequot texts.....	205
Ethnic composition of the Mohegan-Pequot.....	206
Mohegan population.....	212
Estimates of the population of the Pequot proper.....	213
Affinities of Mohegan-Pequot with Hudson River Mahican.....	213
The tribal name and synonyms.....	219
Comparative survey of certain culture features.....	221
Remarks on the life of Mrs. Fielding.....	223
Phonetic note.....	226
Diary of Mrs. Fielding.....	228

### APPENDIX

Geographical names and legends at Mohegan.....	253
An addendum to Mohegan-Pequot folklore.....	260
Mohegan medicinal practices, weather-lore, and superstition, by Gladys Tantaquidgeon.....	264
Folk tales:	
Captain Kidd and the pirates.....	276
Thunder from the clear sky.....	277
The water-tight basket.....	278
Peter Sky changed to a rock.....	278
The story of Old Chickens.....	278
The Mohawks deceived at the Devil's Den.....	279
The sachem's daughter taken by the Mohawks.....	279
Personal names.....	280
Remarks on grammatical material.....	280
Index.....	821



## ILLUSTRATIONS

### PLATES

	Page
14. Fidelia A. H. Fielding, the last speaker of the Mohegan-Pequot language, taken September, 1902, at Mohegan, Conn., during the annual Mohegan "wigwam" festival.....	208
15. Dutch map of about 1614, the earliest source showing the location of the Mohegan and neighboring tribes.....	208
16. <i>a</i> , Mohegan carved wooden mortar and stone pestle (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation); <i>b</i> , carved Pequot wooden mortar from Stonington, Conn.; <i>c</i> , Nehantic wooden mortar (from old Nehantic reservation at Black Point near East Lyme, Conn.)...	208
17. <i>a</i> , Mohegan man pounding parched corn in wooden mortar; <i>b</i> , Charles Mathews (Nehantic-Mohegan) and old stone washbasin; <i>c</i> , Edwin Fowler and another of the old stone washbasins at the Fielding homestead.....	208
18. Mrs. Henry Mathews (Mercy Nonsuch), a full-blood Nehantic (December, 1912). The beaded pouch is a specimen of her handiwork. (Photograph by M. R. Harrington.) (Full face and profile).....	208
19. Siota A. Nonsuch, Nehantic (two views). (Photograph by W. Vivian Chappell).....	208
20. Map showing distribution of tribes and dialects in Connecticut and adjoining regions. (Based on classification of Eastern Algonkian dialects by John R. Swanton and Truman Michelson, Twenty-eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1913).....	212
21. <i>a</i> , Betsy Nonsuch, Nehantic (from old daguerreotype); <i>b</i> , <i>c</i> , John Nonsuch, Nehantic (from old daguerreotype) at two periods of life.....	216
22. <i>a</i> , Burril Fielding; <i>b</i> , Lemuel M. Fielding; <i>c</i> , Doris Fowler; <i>d</i> , Loretta Fielding, all Mohegan.....	216
23. <i>a</i> , Lester Skeesucks in costume (from an old daguerreotype); <i>b</i> , Gladys Tantaquidgeon gathering herbs; <i>c</i> , Mrs. Frances (Olney) Hart, of Narragansett-Mohegan descent; <i>d</i> , Lewis Dolbeare, Nehantic-Mohegan.....	216
24. <i>a</i> , Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) in costume; <i>b</i> , group of Mohegan at the annual "wig wam" festival (August, 1920); <i>c</i> , scene inside the "wigwam" at the annual festival.....	216
25. <i>a</i> , Adeline (Mathews) Dolbeare, Nehantic-Mohegan; <i>b</i> , Cynthia Fowler, Mohegan; <i>c</i> , Ella (Mathews) Avery, Nehantic-Mohegan; <i>d</i> , Delana (Mathews) Skeesucks, Nehantic-Mohegan.....	216
26. <i>a</i> , Doris and Beatrice Fowler and Winifred Tantaquidgeon; <i>b</i> , Cortland Fowler, Harold and Winifred Tantaquidgeon; <i>c</i> , Mary (Fielding) Story; <i>d</i> , Harold Tantaquidgeon and sisters, all Mohegan...	216
27. <i>a</i> , Hannah (Hoscutt) Dolbeare; <i>b</i> , Moses and Frances Fielding, all Mohegan.....	216
28. <i>a</i> , Phoebe (Fielding) Fowler; <i>b</i> , Emma (Fielding) Baker; <i>c</i> , John Tantaquidgeon; <i>d</i> , Burril Fielding, all Mohegan.....	216
29. <i>a</i> , Cynthia Fowler; <i>b</i> , Rachel Fielding; <i>c</i> , Amy Cooper; <i>d</i> , Emma (Fielding) Baker, all Mohegan.....	216
30. <i>a</i> , <i>b</i> , Charles Mathews (full face and profile), Nehantic-Mohegan; <i>c</i> , <i>d</i> , J. R. Skeesucks (two views), Nehantic-Mohegan.....	252



	Page
31. Part of United States Geological Survey chart (Norwich sheet), showing location of Mohegan settlement and neighborhood, with legendary places indicated by numbers.....	252
32. Group of Mohegan in costume gathered near the site of Uncas Fort at Shantok point. (Photograph by R. L. French).....	252
33. <i>a</i> , View of ruins of stone fort on Mohegan Hill, looking north. Boulders forming part of ancient wall are shown still in place (1921) (No. 1 on chart); <i>b</i> , View of same ruins looking east. The inclosure on the rock outcrop is known in Mohegan tradition as the "kitchen" and women's quarters of the old fort.....	252
34. <i>a</i> , Mohegan Chapel on Mohegan Hill, on site of old village (No. 2 on chart); <i>b</i> , Scene at the "wigwam" (1920), ox team bringing supplies; <i>c</i> , Scene at erection of the "wigwam" in 1902, showing skeleton of the structure, crotched posts and stringers.....	252
35. <i>a</i> , View from the top of Lantern Hill, a landmark in the Pequot country overlooking one of the small lakes bordering the Pequot reservation. The girls in the photograph are Mohegan; <i>b</i> , Winter view across country from Mohegan Chapel (No. 2 on chart).....	252
36. Scene at "wigwam" (1909), showing size, construction, doorway, and group of participants, most of them Mohegan.....	258
37. <i>a</i> , View of legendary Papoose Rock at Mohegan near Thames River, looking north (1921) (No. 8 on chart); <i>b</i> , "Devil's Footprint" in boulder just back of Mohegan Chapel (1921) (No. 3 on chart).....	258
38. <i>a</i> , Scene on Mohegan Hill, old Indian path near Mohegan Chapel (No. 2 on chart); <i>b</i> , Mohegan burying ground at Shantok Point (No. 9 on chart).....	258
39. Mrs. Mary (Kilson) Jesson, Scatticook (two views).....	258
40. <i>a</i> , Jessie Harris, Scatticook; <i>b</i> , Jim Harris and his sons, Scatticook (1903).....	258
41. <i>a</i> , A landmark in the old Nehantic country. The cave shelter near Niantic (East Lyme) where tradition says the Iroquois besieged the Nehantic. The boy in the entrance is a Mohegan; <i>b</i> , The landing place on the old Nehantic reservation at Crescent Beach, near East Lyme, looking north toward wigwam sites and site of Indian stockade in colonial times.....	258
42. <i>a</i> , Scene looking north on the Housatonic River from Scatticook reservation; <i>b</i> , Scene in the gorge of the Housatonic near Milford, in the old Scatticook country.....	258

## NATIVE TRIBES AND DIALECTS OF CONNECTICUT A MOHEGAN-PEQUOT DIARY

---

By FRANK G. SPECK

---

### MOHEGAN-PEQUOT TEXTS

Some years ago, after the death of Fidelia A. H. Fielding (pl. 14), the last Indian who retained the ability to speak the Mohegan language, I practically concluded that the last morsel of obtainable linguistic and ethnological material concerning this important and little-known group of Algonkian had been secured and published. With such an impression in mind, in 1905 I turned over to Prof. J. D. Prince the last of my Mohegan papers, as my attention then became diverted to other fields. This material consisted of a personal diary written in Mohegan-Pequot by Mrs. Fielding. The preservation of these inscriptions would have provided a welcome addition to the scanty text material up until that time in existence, but the papers were soon after unfortunately destroyed in a conflagration which consumed much of Professor Prince's library. And so it remained for us to lament the passing of the last Mohegan opportunity. Mrs. Fielding died in 1908, having been for some years in such a condition as to make investigation an impossibility. Fortune, however, turned a favorable aspect. Another collection of texts in the form of a diary, some essays, and memorandums were found among Mrs. Fielding's posthumous belongings by her stepson, John Fielding. This manuscript was generously placed in my hands by John. It possesses more substance than that which was lost, as I remember it, being far more copious and having a wider range of thought and expression. In consequence of such a favorable event I became stimulated recently to revisit the southern New England field, and to spend some time in residence at the old Mohegan village gathering notes on the new morsel and searching for more refreshing knowledge in the old atmosphere. The first results are accordingly submitted. The almost miraculous recovery of these words in an obsolete language permits a hope, perhaps not too optimistic, that still more, and perhaps something in other eastern dialects, may come to light through the hands of several of the investigators whose eyes and thoughts are turning with interest to the eastern remnants.

In a number of papers, some of which were prepared in collaboration with Professor Prince, the Mohegan-Pequot subject matter was

presented to readers. But those articles suffered a great disadvantage through appearing in various scientific and semipopular journals over too wide a period of time.<sup>1</sup> In consequence, the status of this dialect among the others of its group was never satisfactorily defined, and ethnological comparisons among the eastern Algonkian were never extended over the southern New England group as they should have been if all the information available had been at first properly assembled.<sup>2</sup> The full account of this information would otherwise, I believe, have merited more serious attention; some deductions in culture could even have been drawn. Now, with the whole Mohegan-Pequot matter as much as possible in mind, and the neighboring eastern types of dialect and custom in view, I have been bold enough in this paper to make a few points of classification and to define the group among its relatives as it deserves.

#### ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE MOHEGAN-PEQUOT

In the history of the American colonies the Mohegan Indians played an important rôle. In literature they have been made renowned, but unfortunately no attention was ever paid to their internal qualities of language and culture, things which stand for so much more in the understanding of a people's place in the world of human development. For almost a century they have been regarded as so completely civilized that their language and native customs have even faded from memory. Hale, as did several other writers, completely overlooked the fact that within 15 years of his time of writing individuals lived in most of the contemporary New England communities who knew words and sentences in their native Algonkian dialects, even if they could not converse in them consecutively. He believed that none of the Indians of Mashpee, of Gay Head, or of Middleboro, the remnants of the Nauset and Wampanoag tribes, none of the Narragansett of Rhode Island, none of the Mohegan,

<sup>1</sup> (a) *The Modern Pequots and their Language*. J. D. Prince and F. G. Speck. *Amer. Anthrop.*, vol. 5, No. 2 (1903).

(b) *Glossary of the Mohegan-Pequot Language*. J. D. Prince and F. G. Speck. *Amer. Anthrop.*, vol. 6, No. 1 (1904).

(c) *A Modern Mohegan-Pequot Text*. F. G. Speck. *Amer. Anthrop.*, vol. 6, No. 4 (1904).

(d) *Dying American Speech-Echoes from Connecticut*. J. D. Prince and F. G. Speck. *Proceedings Amer. Phil. Soc.*, vol. XLII, No. 174 (1904).

(e) *A Mohegan-Pequot Witchcraft Tale*. F. G. Speck. *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. XVI, No. 61 (1903).

(f) *The Name Chahnameed*. J. D. Prince. *Ibid.*

(g) *Some Mohegan-Pequot Legends*. F. G. Speck. *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. XVII (1904).

(h) *Remnants of the Nehantics*. F. G. Speck. *Southern Workman*, February, 1918.

(i) *Notes of the Mohegan and Niantic Indians*. F. G. Speck. *Anthropological Papers of Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, N. Y., vol. III (1909).

(j) *Decorative Art of the Indian Tribes of Connecticut*. F. G. Speck. *Anthropological Series of Geological Survey of Canada*, No. 10 (1915).

(k) *Medicine Practices of the Northeastern Algonkians*. F. G. Speck. *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Congress of Americanists*, Washington, 1915. Washington, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Languages*, Twenty-eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn. (1912), Dr. Truman Michelson hesitated to classify Mohegan and Pequot definitely.

Pequot, and Nehantic remaining in Connecticut, nor any Scatticook in the western part of the same State, remembered anything of their native tongues. That he was not correctly informed on these interesting vitalities of aboriginal life appeared evident when, through patience and fortunate circumstances, matter was described and published concerning the language, while some indications appeared of a latent knowledge of old customs and beliefs illustrated by actual ethnological specimens. At Mohegan there lived at this time at least one who, as we have shown, had some systematic knowledge of a New England Indian language. A body of other information on customs could then, and some still can be, harvested from the descendants of these same interesting groups.

First appearing as an organized tribe under the celebrated leader, Uncas, the Mohegan gradually assumed the prominence of a great political factor in southern New England. Although the name Morhicans (Mohegan) is given a place on a map of the region dating from 1614 (pl. 15), their ancestry was chiefly Pequot, evidenced by many sources, Uncas himself having been one of the sachems of that nation. How they gradually developed a separate nationality, which was emphasized by the part they took in aiding the English to accomplish the extermination of the Pequot and later the Narragansett, is generally well known. They absorbed control of the Nipmuck north of them and the Tunxis and other tribes westward across the Connecticut River.<sup>1</sup> Only one tribe, the Nehantic (Niantic), their neighbors on the shores of Long Island Sound between the Niantic and the Connecticut Rivers, was, it seems, affected favorably by the Mohegan expansion. They became finally absorbed by the latter sometime after 1850. The composite character of the historic Mohegan is well shown by a review of the descent of the various families constituting the tribe, which shows that practically all of the tribes in the surrounding territory contributed more or less to the growth of the Mohegan community. It naturally follows that the material and mental life of the Mohegan should be regarded as something of a blend of the minor ethnological types represented among the peoples inhabiting this immediate region.

The Pequot should undoubtedly be classed as the nation contributing most in blood to the composition of the Mohegan, since their language remained the mother speech. After the tragic extermination of this tribe in 1636 the exiles were distributed more or less as slaves among the Mohegan and Narragansett. De Forest has compiled the references in colonial documents showing the large number of those which came into the hands of Uncas. This increase aug-

<sup>1</sup> De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 1851, pp. 182, 254-258, and 376, gives an account of the expansion of the Mohegan under Uncas, covering the territories of the Nipmuck, Tunxis, and Hammonasset. The Tunxis residing at Farmington on Connecticut River and the Hammonasset on the western shore of the mouth of the river were by early authors assigned to the Mattabesec (Wappinger) group.



mented the numbers and power of the Mohegan to such an extent that in speaking of the language and ethnology of the tribe it seems proper to adopt the hyphenated term Mohegan-Pequot. So far as information is available we have no means of estimating the actual proportion of Pequot blood prior to 1861. In that year, however, a body of commissioners published a report on the land holdings of the tribe and submitted a census of the individuals, with the statement of their tribal ancestry evidently based on information given by the Indians themselves. Among the 79 individuals listed as Mohegan, 16 asserted themselves to be of Pequot descent, ranging from one-half to one-eighth.<sup>2</sup> It should be recalled that two bands of Pequot were established in Connecticut in colonial times just across the Thames River, not much more than 12 miles distant from the Mohegan village. Nevertheless, the intermarriages between the two people in recent times have amounted to nothing, owing to a traditional dislike between them arising from the part played by the Mohegan in aiding the English to effect their downfall. The Pequot, for their part, have continued a separate existence on their side of the river to this day.<sup>3</sup>

It may be worth while adding a word or two in corroboration of historical testimony as to the linguistic and ethnological affinity of the two groups. A comparison of two modern Mohegan glossaries with the actual Pequot terms collected by President Stiles at Groton, Conn., more than a century and a half ago,<sup>4</sup> shows the two to have been as close in phonetics and lexicon as, one might say, British and American; a comparison which seems to hold in many respects between the people in general with almost amusing consistency. The linked cultural identity of the real Pequot and the Mohegan-Pequot permits us from the standpoint of our Mohegan information to assign classification to a rather wide area in eastern Connecticut, a considerable help in filling up the gaps in the culture areas of this little-known region.

The Mohegan-Pequot have undoubtedly assimilated some Narragansett blood, but to what extent it would be impossible to say beyond quoting the previously mentioned report of 1861, which designated Narragansett descent to three individuals among the Mohegan at that time. Among the present-day members of the

<sup>2</sup> I have included under this listing four whose Pequot ancestry was not specified, though it should have been, since their parents were so designated.

<sup>3</sup> An old original Pequot wooden corn mortar (pl. 16, b) obtained in 1920 from Nathaniel Latham, of Stonington, shows the characteristic scalloped base which appears as a feature in the mortar construction of this immediate group of tribes. This elaborated feature does not occur in the mortars of the Massachusetts bands. The latter have plain straight sides.

<sup>4</sup> This vocabulary was taken down in 1764. The forms recorded therein show practically no deviation from the Mohegan given here, even after the wide lapse of 158 years; rather remarkable nonchangeability for languages which have lived only in oral form.





FIDELIA A. H. FIELDING, THE LAST SPEAKER  
OF THE MOHEGAN-PEQUOT LANGUAGE,  
TAKEN SEPTEMBER, 1902, AT MOHEGAN,  
CONN., DURING THE ANNUAL MOHEGAN  
"WIGWAM" FESTIVAL



DUTCH MAP OF ABOUT 1614, THE EARLIEST SOURCE SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MOHEGAN AND NEIGHBORING TRIBES



*a*



*b*



*c*

*a*, MOHEGAN CARVED WOODEN MORTAR AND STONE PESTLE (MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION); *b*, CARVED PEQUOT WOODEN MORTAR FROM STONINGTON, CONN.; *c*, NEHANTIC WOODEN MORTAR (FROM OLD NEHANTIC RESERVATION AT BLACK POINT, NEAR EAST LYME, CONN.)



*a*



*b*



*c*

*a*, MOHEGAN MAN POUNDING PARCHED CORN IN WOODEN MORTAR; *b*, CHARLES MATHEWS (NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN) AND OLD STONE WASH-BASIN; *c*, EDWIN FOWLER AND ANOTHER OF THE OLD STONE WASHBASINS AT THE FIELDING HOMESTEAD



MRS. HENRY MATHEWS (MERCY NONSUCH), A FULL-BLOOD NEHANTIC (DECEMBER, 1912). THE BEADED POUCH IS A SPECIMEN OF HER HANDIWORK

(Photograph by M. R. Harrington.) (Full face and profile)





SIOTA A. NONSUCH, NEHANTIC (TWO VIEWS)

(Photograph by W. Vivian Chappell)

tribe the Tantaquidgeon<sup>5</sup> family recognizes the same in part. Dialectic or other influence from this source, however, may be regarded as negligible.

Among the minor tribes whose local culture and dialect were evidently rather closely related to the Narragansett were the Western Nehantic.<sup>6</sup> They deserve particular notice. The location of this small tribe has already been given. With the decline of this band its descendants seemed to have turned toward Mohegan as a refuge. Until recently there were several individuals of pure Nehantic blood (see pls. 18, 19, 21) living there who had removed from their proper habitat on Long Island Sound near East Lyme. Four of the present inhabitants of Mohegan are therefore one-half Nehantic, and some of these have children there. In 1861 there were six of this classification. The culture contribution of this small group can, however, have been very insignificant, even if it differed at all from that of the Mohegan residents. The Nehantic have been regarded also as an offshoot of the Narragansett.<sup>7</sup>

Immigrants from the Tunxis tribe were at times accorded a haven at Mohegan, as their declining numbers left them a prey to the encroachments of the whites. The Tunxis, a small nation, occupied a neighborhood on the Connecticut River near the site of Hartford. Just what their dialectic peculiarities may have been we have no record to show, beyond several assertions that they belonged to the Mattabesec or Wappinger confederation, which extended from the Hudson to the Connecticut south of the latitude of Poughkeepsie. They are reputed to have been later subject to Uncas. After the Revolution some of them joined the Stockbridge Mahican. One of the Tunxis descendants persisted at Mohegan until within about 30 years ago. This was an old woman, Pually Mossuck, who died about 1895, leaving some scattered offspring, Caroline and David Jones and Mary Taylor. The name Mossuck was noted by De Forest as occurring in his time (1852), borne by an old man living in Litchfield.<sup>8</sup> In 1804 some of them still held land in Farmington under the care of an overseer.

<sup>5</sup> This name is given as "Tantiquieson, a Mohegan captain," in Winthrop's Journal, II, 380-381, quoted by Drake, Biography and History of the Indians, etc. (1837), Book II, p. 69. De Forest (History of the Indians of Connecticut, p. 191) also refers to one of Uncas's captains of this name.

<sup>6</sup> Since the account of Nehantic ethnological survivals was published in 1909 (Speck, ref. (h) and (i), p. 206 of this paper) two additional facts concerning the band have come to hand. One is the word *wakadjanak*, remembered by Mrs. Skeesuck as an expression often used by her mother (Meret Nonsuch), a full-blood Nehantic woman who died in 1913. This means, "Oh my goodness!" and corresponds to Mrs. Fielding's Mohegan exclamation *wai'kodja'manik*, "Oh my!" Next we traced an old wooden corn mortar (pl. 16, c) which had been taken from the Nehantic reservation at East Lyme and had fallen into the hands of white people. It had presumably belonged to the Wawkeet family of Nehantic. In form, and in the peculiarity of the scalloped carved base and handles at the sides, this interesting mortar is identical with those used at Mohegan (pls. 16, a; 17, a).

<sup>7</sup> W. Hubbard, A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, etc., 1607-1677, p. 49. Stockbridge, 1803.

<sup>8</sup> De Forest, History of the Indians of Connecticut, p. 375

One, at least, of the tribes of eastern Long Island contributed individuals to the Mohegan nation. At the present day the Fowler family is of remote paternal Montauk descent. We should, I think, hesitate in classifying the Montauk and its affiliated tribes inhabiting the eastern portion of Long Island intimately with the Mohegan-Pequot, since we have so little information on the dialectic and culture properties of the Long Islanders. The inhabitants of the eastern portion of the island differed, however, from those of the western portion, an assumption fairly well founded through historical and archeological contributions by various writers.<sup>9</sup> Since, however, the Montauk and their allies were in close political and commercial contact with the Pequot and Mohegan-Pequot, it may be, I presume, fairly safe to assume that something more than mere social relations existed between the two groups.<sup>10</sup> The eastern Long Island group under consideration, however, according to Michelson, fell within the confines of the larger Massachusetts-Narragansett-Pequot dialectic division.<sup>11</sup>

To properly understand the composite character of the southern New England tribes, especially those nearest the Hudson River and the New York State boundary, it is necessary to revert for a moment to the question of Iroquois influence. The early accounts of the region are replete with reference to the constant friction between the two stocks, the Iroquois, as usual, the aggressors, as successful in their cultural conquest as they were in their political invasion. There seems to have been no retreat for the tribes bordering on Long Island Sound as far as Cape Cod. It was therefore inevitable that the institutions and manufactures of the Algonkian should have been modified by contact with the more advanced Iroquois. We may even remark the survival of such an influence in the decadent ethnological characteristics of the southern New England peoples as they are revealed to us in the local records and in modern survivals. In architecture, implements, ceramics, basketry, beaded and quilled embroidery, costuming, and decorative designs the testimony is abundant for similar properties existing in both

<sup>9</sup> R. P. Bolton, *New York City in Indian Possession*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), vol. 11, No. 7 (1920), p. 271, gives evidence from historical sources, chiefly land deeds, showing affiliations of the western Long Island tribes with the Delaware subtribes rather than with those of eastern Long Island. A. B. Skinner, *Archaeological Investigations on Manhattan Island*, *ibid.*, vol. 11, No. 6 (1920), p. 212, summarizes the convincing archaeological evidence for a similar conclusion. (Cf. also R. B. Dixon, *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1914, p. 9.) M. R. Harrington's unpublished material on Long Island ethnology shows also that a difference appears in a careful study of the two sections of the island.

<sup>10</sup> De Forest has much to say concerning Long Island and Connecticut Indian commerce and similarity. Mrs. Fielding related several folk tales referring to social intercourse between the two. (Cf. Speck, *ref. (i)*, p. 197.) Drake discusses the same (*op. cit.*, Book II, p. 101).

<sup>11</sup> Michelson, map with Preliminary Report on Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes, Twenty-eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn. (1912). W. W. Tooker in several papers emphasized the similarity of Montauk with Massachusetts.

areas, the Iroquois evidently somewhere responsible. The ceremonial functions of wampum, clan inheritance, some elements of medicinal superstitions and folklore likewise reflect a similar influence.<sup>12</sup>

The ethnological content of Mohegan-Pequot culture is therefore valuable to the ethnologist, because it represents what was characteristic of a large area in southern New England stretching from Narragansett Bay to the Connecticut River and north approximately to the Massachusetts line, specifically embracing at least three prominent tribal groups, the original Pequot, the western Nehantic, and the later Mohegan-Pequot. On the map (pl. 20) I have undertaken to outline the determinable groups. It is most fortunate, accordingly, that the Mohegan maintained themselves for so long a time and fulfilled the function of conserving the type dialect of the area until at least some specimens of it, such as they are, could have reached the hands of investigators. They have preserved for us the only possible existing source of information on the life of this immediate group. The remaining Pequot in Connecticut have become hopelessly deculturated, while the Long Island remnants lost their language before records of it were made. West of the Connecticut River the one band at Scatticook, which remained fairly intact until recently, belonged outside of this group with the lower Hudson River group of Wappinger, so falling into classification as an intermediate between the Mohegan-Pequot of southern New England and the Mahican or perhaps the Munsee dialects.

The other southeastern New England subdivisions, the Narragansett and Massachusetts (Natick), were more fortunate in receiving attention from the early missionaries, only the Nauset and Wampanoag having been specifically overlooked by the recorders of native life and language of early times. Practically all of these groups, however, are still represented by more or less segregated bands of descendants in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, from whom some very fragmentary but, nevertheless, helpful contributions may be hoped for.

A further note concerning the southern New England Indians will remind us that in 1788 many of the Mohegan, Pequot, Narragansett, Tunxis, Montauk, and some Wampanoag withdrew, combined under the name of Brotherton Indians under the leadership of Samson Occum, a converted Mohegan, and settled among the Oneida, in

<sup>12</sup> Several ethnologists have remarked upon Iroquois influence here along different lines; C. C. Willoughby, *Pottery of the New England Indians*, Putnam Anniversary Volume 1909, p. 97; G. H. Perkins, *Aboriginal Remains in Champlain Valley*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. vol. 11 (1909), p. 607; A. B. Skinner, *Archeological Investigations on Manhattan Island*; *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) (1920), vol. 11, iv, 6, pp. 153, 210; R. B. Dixon, *The Mythology of the Central and Eastern Algonkians*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (1909), No. LXXXIII; *The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England*, *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1914; De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (1857), pp. 65-66, 289, etc.; and the writer's *Decorative Art and Basketry of the Indian Tribes of Connecticut*; *Geological Survey of Canada, Anthropological Series*, No. 10 (1915).

New York. Later, with the Oneida in 1833, they moved to Wisconsin, where they now continue to exist as a band numbering about 200 souls. Considerable light may still be thrown on the southern New England area by a detailed study of the composite exiled band, and this is a particularly urgent need at present.<sup>1</sup>

### MOHEGAN POPULATION

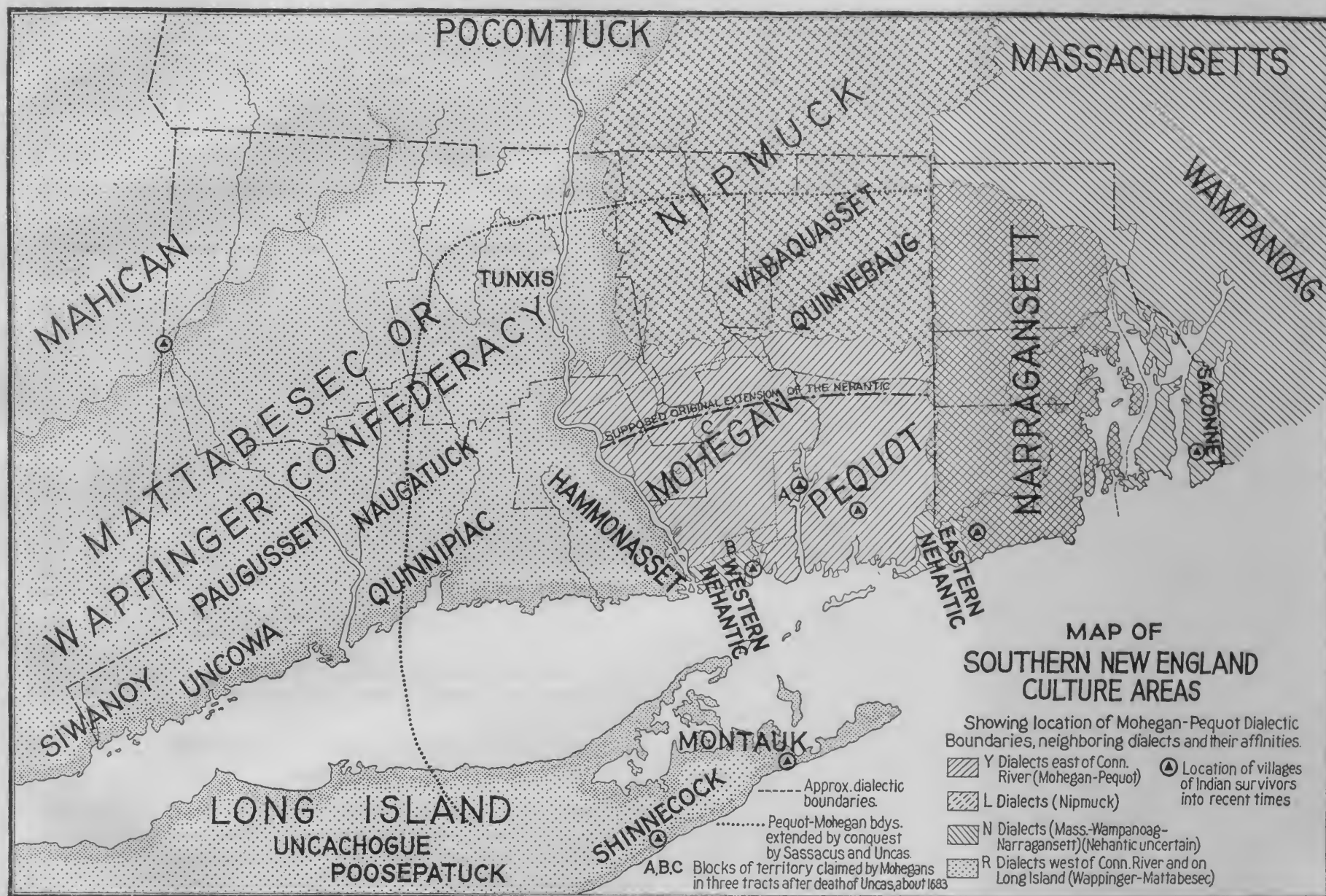
It may not be out of place to present here for the historian and sociologist a series of estimates of the population of the Mohegan at different periods, to show incidentally how a small native community has withstood annihilation for almost two centuries, although surrounded by an aggressive and growing European population.<sup>2</sup> The small tribe has shown a remarkable tenacity, despite progressive dilution of blood, an illustration of the occasional persistency of small racial bodies within larger ones.

- 1704. "150 warriors" (estimated total 750 by De Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 316).
- 1743. "100-120 men" (estimated 400-500 by De Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 346).
- 1774. 206 New London and Montville, 61 Norwich, 21 Lebanon, 28 Colchester, 30 Preston; total, 346. (De Forest, p. 474, quoting *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. x, p. 118.)
- 1782. 135 (History of Montville, Conn., Baker).
- 1786. The removal took place to the Oneida country, under Samson Oecom, and the formation of the Brotherton band, which later removed to Wisconsin.
- 1797. "Supposed to be 400" (statement by Kendall, see 1807, below).
- 1804. 84 (Mooney, in *Handbook of Amer. Inds.*, *Bull.* 30, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, article Mohegan).
- 1807. 69 "on their lands" (E. A. Kendall, *Travels through North America, etc.*, 1807-8. N. Y. (1809), p. 301).
- 1822-1825. 300 (Mooney, *op. cit.*, probably from census, Jedidiah Morse).
- 1832. 350 (*ibid.*).
- 1848. 125 (De Forest, p. 488). 25-30 full bloods, about 60 on the reservation.
- 1860. 85 (60 on reservation, 25 residing elsewhere). This is an accurate census by commissioners appointed by the State. (*Rep. of Committee on the Mohegan Lands, Hartford, 1861*, p. 4.)
- 1902. "About 100" (Speck, *ref. i*, 1909, p. 185), including those scattered through eastern Connecticut. These were enumerated by name.
- 1910. 22 (*U. S. Census 1910, Ind. Pop. in U. S.*, p. 116). Evidently lessened through the claim of some of the Indians who passed as whites. The enumerations for the eastern tribes are, however, generally worthless in this census.
- 1920. 122 (enumeration of the Mohegan Association); 31 at Mohegan; 73 in Norwich, New London, and neighboring Connecticut towns; 18 scattered.

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written a collection of texts and linguistic material has been obtained from this group by Dr. Truman Michelson for the Bureau of American Ethnology.

<sup>2</sup> Hubbard (*Narrative of Ind. Wars in New Engl.* (1803) p. 52) remarked on the Mohegan being less numerous but more warlike than the Narragansett.





MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES AND DIALECTS IN CONNECTICUT AND ADJOINING REGIONS. (BASED ON CLASSIFICATION OF EASTERN ALGONKIAN DIALECTS BY JOHN R. SWANTON AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, TWENTY-EIGHTH ANN. REPT. BUR. AMER. ETHN., 1913)

The latest phase of Mohegan history is the formation of the Mohegan Indian Association at Mohegan in 1920. The leading members of the band founded this association to preserve the integrity of the tribe and to effect certain aims along social and legal lines. Forty-nine of the Mohegan are enrolled, the officers being Lemuel M. Fielding, chief (pl. 22, *b*); Everett M. Fielding, assistant chief; Albert E. Fielding, treasurer; Gladys Tantaquidgeon (pls. 23, *b*; 24, *a*), secretary; Mrs. Edith Grey, Miss Mary V. Morgan, Mr. Julian Harris, and Mrs. Hattie Morgan, councillors.

### ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF THE PEQUOT PROPER

About 3,000 before the Pequot war is the estimate given by early writers.

- 1637-38. After the destruction of the Pequot, "350 warriors, about 1,250 souls," New Haven and Long Island (Mooney, article Pequot, Handbook of American Indians); 200 warriors, portioned out among friendly tribes, "about 700 in all" ("about 100 warriors to Mohegan, 80 to Narragansett, 20 to Niantic").
1655. Survivors granted two reservations in Connecticut, Mushantuxet (Ledyard) and Groton.
1674. 1,500 on both reservations (Mooney, *op. cit.*).
1731. 164 (De Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 427).
1749. 38 Groton band (De Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 432).
1762. 176 (30 families) Groton band (De Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 437); 140 Mushantuxet (Ledyard) (Mooney, *op. cit.*).
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1774. 186 Groton band   | } (De Forest, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 432 et seq.). |
| 1776. 151 Mushantuxet   |  |
| 1820. 50 Stonington (Groton)  |  |
| 1832. 40 Groton.  |  |
| 1848. { 15 persons, 3 families, Stonington<br>{ 48 persons, Ledyard |  |
1902. "Less than a score" (C. P. Thresher.<sup>2</sup>)
1907. "About 25" (near Ledyard) (Handbook of American Indians).
1910. 66 (49 in Connecticut, 17 in Massachusetts) (United States Indian Census, p. 75).

### AFFINITIES OF MOHEGAN-PEQUOT WITH HUDSON RIVER MAHICAN

Having now proceeded toward establishing the boundary limits of the dialects of the specific Pequot type, we may denote the area by marking it in an inclosure on a chart of New England showing forth-with its classification as a member of the Massachusetts-Narragansett

<sup>2</sup> Homes and Haunts of the Pequots. New England Magazine, 1902, p. 753.

division. On the west, across the Connecticut River, were located,<sup>1</sup> the so-called Quiripi or *r* dialects, embracing the Mattabesec or Wappinger confederates, and these extended across Long Island Sound over the eastern portion of Long Island; on the north Nipmuck, supposed to have been an *l* dialect,<sup>2</sup> and a branch of the Pennacook, on the northeast Massachusetts, and farther to the east Wampanoag and Narragansett, the last three of the *n* type. This gives us five of the noteworthy variant divisions of the southern New England group, the dialects fairly uniform in lexicon, but varying phonetically through *r*, *y*, *l*, and *n* forms as just indicated.

The affiliations of the larger southern New England group may now be considered. In spite of the meagerness of detailed and accurate information, we have some general matter offering points of contrast with neighboring types, northward in the better-known Wabanaki and westward in the slightly known Delaware and Mahican area. These permit us at least to draw out a certain sense of directional relationships. Upon a second glance the relationship of the whole southern New England group falls more closely

<sup>1</sup> The dialects of Shinnecock and Poosepatuck, or Uncachogue, were mutually intelligible and belonged also to the *r* type, as is shown by a vocabulary taken by Thomas Jefferson in 1794 at the Poosepatuck reservation near Mastic. At that time three old women and one girl spoke the language. The original manuscript in the archives of the American Philosophical Society was examined. It shows a close lexical resemblance to Mohegan-Pequot. From the terms given, which unfortunately do not include many verbal forms, we may show the variation to be only a phonetic one, as follows: Mohegan-Pequot *y* (Mass.-Narr. *n*) (*iy=i'*) = Long Island *r*, between vowels. Examples:

English	Uncachogue	
star	arraquasac	anoqs (Natick)
dog	arrum	anum (Natick)
he is handsome	worecco	wi'go (Moh.-Peq.)
good	worecan	wi'gæn (Moh.-Peq.)
		wuneegan (Natick-Narr.)
fish	operamac	pi'yamag (Moh.-Peq.)
fire	ruht, yuht	wi'yût, yut (Moh.-Peq.)

Other points in Long Island Uncachogue, though based on only a few examples, are: Animate plural ending, *-ank*, corresponding to Moh.-Peq. *ag*; inanimate plural ending, *-nus*, Moh.-Peq. *-unc* (*-unsh*). M. R. Harrington (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XVI, p. 39) in 1903 gives a Shinnecock vocabulary, but it does not afford a key to grammatical features.

On the mainland in western Connecticut we have the *r* forms identical with those of eastern Long Island, as follows, in the Naugatuck vocabulary given by De Forest (History of the Indians of Connecticut, p. 491) and Scatticook (Prince and Speck (1903), ref. *d*).

parched corn	rutig (Scatticook)	yokeg (Moh.-Peq.)
		nuhkik (Mass.-Narr.)
snake (diminutive)	skukaris (Scatticook)	skuksis (Moh.-Peq.)
man	rinh (Naugatuck)	i'n (Moh.-Peq.)
		nnin (Mass.-Narr.)
fire	ru-u-tah (Naugatuck)	(see above)
	rut	(Scatticook)

On the basis of the above tables, and the statement of Roger Williams that the northern Indians used *r*, it appears that the Wappinger-Mattabesec dialects, all having *r* forms (see below, footnote 2 of this page) extended from the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts southward through western Connecticut and across to Long Island, covering the central and eastern portion of the island. Hence, the southern New England dialectic group extended from the western boundary of Connecticut, including Long Island, and east to Massachusetts Bay.

<sup>2</sup> The Indian Grammar Begun, John Eliot (1666), Old South Leaflets no. 52, p. 4. "We Massachusetts pronounce the *n*. The Nipmuck Indians pronounce *l*, and the Northern Indians pronounce the *r*. As instance: we say *anum*, Nipmuck *alum*, northern *arum*, a dog. So in most words."

with the Delaware and Mahican-Wappinger, both in speech and in habits, than with the Wabanaki. Doctor Michelson, referring to dialect, assents to this probability in his painstaking study of Algonkian languages. He says: "Pequot and Mohican (Mahican) are not closely related, though . . . Mohican is more closely related to Pequot than it is to Delaware-Munsee,"<sup>3</sup> and adds orally, "as will be elaborated later."

His conclusion in reference to Natick and Pequot is based largely upon phonetic values and upon his analysis of the pronominal features. There is an additional dialectic mark which is worth consideration as bearing upon the point.

The locatives in *-k* and *-g* in Mohegan-Pequot show that it coincides in this particular respect with the Wappinger-Mahican division on the west rather than with the Massachusetts-Narragansett on the east. The peculiarity is exhibited in many place names throughout central and western Connecticut to the Hudson River ending in *-k* or *-g*, while eastward in Rhode Island and Massachusetts the place names, many of them dialectic cognates with the Connecticut terms, end in locative *-t*.

A small vocabulary in De Forest's History of the Indians of Connecticut provides a little comparative material from the Naugatuck language, spoken in western Connecticut on the Naugatuck River, an eastern affluent of the Housatonic. These terms evidently represent the dialect of the Paugusset tribe and conform in several cases to the phonetics (*r* in place of *n*, *l*, *y*) of the Wappinger-Mattabesec as spoken at Scatticook. They, too, show a close analogy with Mohegan-Pequot in lexicon, allowing for characteristic *r* equivalents, and some differences in word usage from Massachusetts-Narragansett, at least to the general extent that we are accustomed to find in comparing dialects which conform to certain groupings. Bear, Naugatuck *awaususo*, M.-P. *awasus*, contrasts with Massachusetts *mashq*; man, Naugatuck *rinh* (*rin*), M.-P. *i'n*; woman, Naugatuck *wenih* (*winai*), M.-P. *winais* (denunciative); night, Naugatuck *toofka* (misprint for *toopka*) M.-P. *dupka*; fire, Naugatuck *ru uh tah*, M.-P. *yut*. This all points a hint as to the intermediate position of Mohegan-Pequot between its nearest relative, the Mahican-Wappinger, and Massachusetts-Narragansett. In consequence, not forgetting, however, that our material covering other desirable points is so meager, we may venture an indication on the chart of the relationship.

We are led to it, moreover, from a consideration of the dialectic graduations toward the Delaware and Mahican-Wappinger divisions, which link the Massachusetts and eastern Connecticut dialects with the Hudson River dialects through the intermediate *r* dialects

<sup>3</sup> Michelson, International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 56-57 (1917).

(Quiripi group <sup>4</sup>). A word or two on this interesting and little-known division may be added here, to repeat what Professor Prince noted concerning some words and phrases rescued at the last moment from one of the Scatticook Indians living in 1903 on the Housatonic River.<sup>5</sup> He assigned to the New England dialect a closer affinity with the Mahican, a view which has since received support from Doctor Michelson. The band at Scatticook was composed of fugitives from the Pequot, Narragansett, Wampanoag, and other eastern bands, from about 1736 on, seeking refuge with the tribes west of the Connecticut River, which were then more remote from contact with the whites. We see, accordingly, how the southern New England tribes felt about their own affinities, always turning westward toward the Hudson rather than northward to the country inhabited by the Wabanaki. Between the two a completely unfamiliar culture setting, different historical associations, more widely separated speech, even open hostility, marked the Wabanaki and the southern New England group as the offshoots of different waves of Algonkian migration toward the Atlantic coast. Turning to historical matters, it seems proper now to refer to the opinions of the natives themselves concerning their former migration, opinions which in spite of Doctor Lowie's scepticism on the value of native historical traditions, may be repeated in a sympathetic spirit, since in this case they substantiate the inclination of internal evidence.

*Migration Legend.*—In one of the previous papers <sup>6</sup> on Mohegan-Pequot I mentioned Mrs. Fielding's tradition that her people had originally come from the Hudson, moving eastward toward the Connecticut, then following down this river to Long Island Sound. Another recently recovered document corroborates her belief and shows that it was widely known among these Indians. The document referred to I shall quote in full from its source, Mrs. Emma Baker (pls. 28, *b*; 29, *d*), one of the oldest Mohegan women, often consulted on ethnological and historical matters before she died several years ago. "When a child of 7 years, my great-great-aunt used to take my sister, brother, cousin, and myself on the hill near where the church now stands, point to the northwest, and tell us that was the way that her folks came, and that we must never forget it, away to the hills of Taughannick, and after that for several years she used to impress upon our minds that it was something that we must not forget." Still another version of the eastern migration tale finds place in the

<sup>4</sup> From a statement in Hubbard's *Narrative of Indian Wars in New England, etc.*, Stockbridge (1803), p. 244, it may be inferred that the Pocumtuck on Connecticut River, near the location of Springfield, were closely allied to the Stockbridge Mahican. At their dispersal in 1676 by Major Talbot they fled to Stockbridge. Hubbard says they were separate from the Nipmuck. A recent paper by A. B. Skinner, *Notes on Mahican Ethnology*, Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 3, 1925, Public Museum of Milwaukee, furnishes some interesting ethnological information on the Stockbridge Indians.

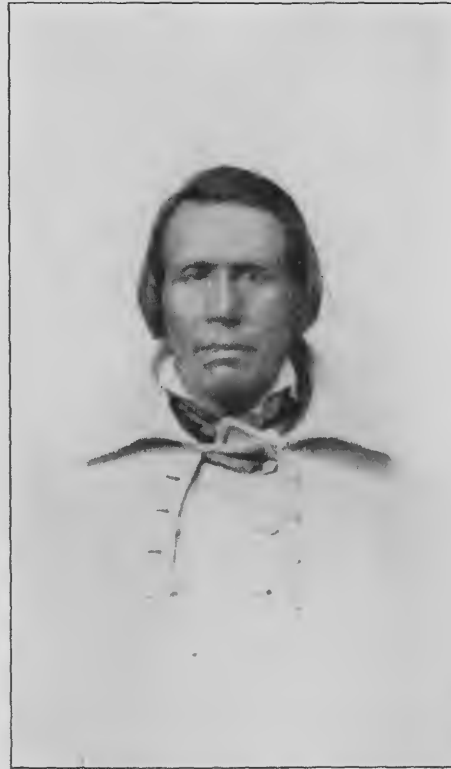
<sup>5</sup> Prince and Speck, ref. d (1904), p. 347.

<sup>6</sup> Prince and Speck, ref. a, p. 193; also Speck, refs. g and i, p. 184.





*a*



*b*



*c*

*a*, BETSY NONSUCH, NEHANTIC (FROM OLD DAGUERRETYPE); *b*, *c*, JOHN NONSUCH, NEHANTIC (FROM OLD DAGUERRETYPE) AT TWO PERIODS OF LIFE



*a*



*b*

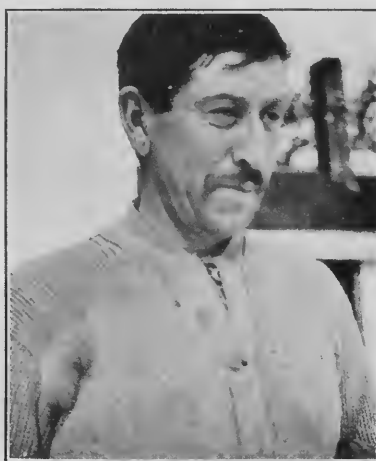


*c*



*d*

*a*, BURRIL FIELDING; *b*, LEMUEL M. FIELDING; *c*, DORIS FOWLER;  
*d*, LORETTA FIELDING. ALL MOHEGAN

*a**b**c**d*

*a*, LESTER SKEESUCKS IN COSTUME (FROM AN OLD DAGUERREOTYPE); *b*, GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON GATHERING HERBS; *c*, MRS. FRANCES (OLNEY) HART, OF NARRAGANSETT-MOHEGAN DESCENT; *d*, LEWIS DOLBEARE, NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN



*a*



*b*



*c*

*a*, GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON (MOHEGAN) IN COSTUME; *b*, GROUP OF MOHEGAN AT THE ANNUAL "WIGWAM" FESTIVAL (AUGUST, 1920); *c*, SCENE INSIDE THE "WIGWAM" AT THE ANNUAL FESTIVAL

*a**b**c**d*

*a*, ADELINE (MATHEWS) DOLBEARE, NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN; *b*, CYNTHIA FOWLER, MOHEGAN; *c*, ELLA (MATHEWS) AVERY, NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN; *d*, DELANA (MATHEWS) SKEESUCKS, NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

*a*, DORIS AND BEATRICE FOWLER AND WINIFRED TANTAQUIDGEON; *b*, CORTLAND FOWLER, HAROLD AND WINIFRED TANTAQUIDGEON; *c*, MARY (FIELDING) STORY; *d*, HAROLD TANTAQUIDGEON AND SISTERS. ALL MOHEGAN



*a*



*b*

*a*, HANNAH (HOSCUTT) DOLBEARE *b*, MOSES  
AND FRANCES FIELDING. ALL MOHEGAN

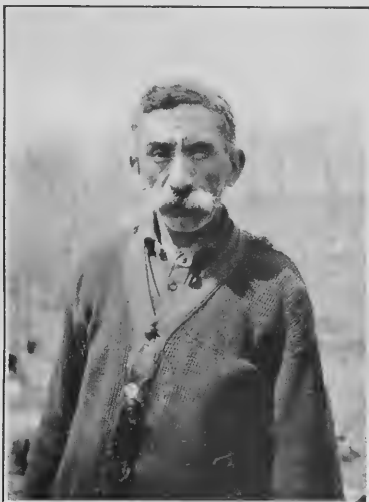




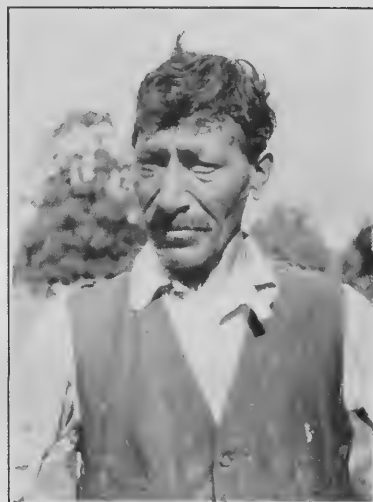
*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

*a*, PHOEBE (FIELDING) FOWLER; *b*, EMMA (FIELDING) BAKER;  
*c*, JOHN TANTAQUIDGEON; *d*, BURRIL FIELDING. ALL  
 MOHEGAN

memory of Lemuel Fielding, a Mohegan, whose father had it from his father and grandfather, whose lives together cover a span of almost a century and a half. It asserts that the people came eastward over a desert, then traversed "the great fresh water," and finally, driven by the attacks of the Mohawk, crossed to the eastern side of the Connecticut, where they made their homes. We might admit that, collectively and in conjunction with the other evidence, there is some little weight in the force of this testimony.

The question arises in one's mind, whence came the Mohegan and Pequot invaders into the region where they were found in 1614? A glance at the distribution map shows another aspect of the situation favorable to the assumption of an irruptive tribal movement, coming from the north and dividing the Nehantic on Long Island Sound coast into the well-known eastern and western bands. Historians in general seem to accept this explanation,<sup>7</sup> since it was given by the Narragansett and Nehantic as the cause of their constant hostility toward the Pequot during the seventeenth century.

Our reasons for considering the Nehantic and Narragansett as being closely related come from several sources. The geographical contiguity and political relationships of the two groups argue something positive toward the idea that these two people were original occupants of the coastwise strip of territory before the incursion of the Mohegan and Pequot. Several references in early documents mention the Nehantic as having formerly possessed the coast from Connecticut River eastward to the Wecapaug, and extending inland some 25 miles. The two bands of Nehantic in later times were consequently the divided portions of the original body. As inhabitants of the coast contiguous on the east with the Narragansett, their dialectic and culture status may be assumed to have closely resembled that of the Narragansett. The few Nehantic culture survivals and native terms do not furnish denial but a mild affirmative of the matter. Politically their early unity is betrayed by the knowledge that they had chiefs in common, and are frequently mentioned together as combined units whose fortunes were affected by their common aggressors, the Pequot.<sup>8</sup> Later the eastern Nehantic became incorporated with the Narragansett, acquiring even a seemingly dominant position

<sup>7</sup> Substantially accepted by De Forest as authentic (De Forest, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61).

<sup>8</sup> Ninigret (Nenekunat, as Roger Williams wrote it) was primarily sachem of the Nehantic, whom Drake refers to as "a tribe of the Narragansetts whose principal residence was at Wekapaug, now Westerly, in Rhode Island." (S. G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America*, 1837, Book II, p. 67.) Hubbard also stated that the Nehantic were an offshoot of the Narragansett (Hubbard, *op. cit.*, p. 49). Miantonomoh in 1642 also referred to the Nehantic as of "his own flesh and blood, being allied by continual intermarriages." The two tribes were united in their hostility to the Mohegan in 1644. In 1647 (*ibid.* p. 70) the two are again mentioned as one body. The successors of Ninigret, who inherited the chieftaincy of the Narragansett down to about 1812, when George Ninigret, "the last crowned King," died, were constantly recorded as Nehantic chiefs. (Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 83, quoting Hazard, II, 152. Some of Drake's information (1837) was obtained from unpublished manuscript of Rev. Wm. Ely. He also relies upon Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc., IX, 83.)

there, while the western portion of the tribe remained independent until it came finally to be linked with and absorbed by the Mohegan.

The attitude of the Mohegan and Pequot together toward neighboring peoples, except the English, seems to have been one of almost constant hostility. With the English of Connecticut, after the destruction of the Pequot in 1636, the Mohegan allied themselves—a coalition between invaders. With the Narragansett they never appear to have been at peace from the first notices we encounter in 1634 through the whole historic period. The quarrel against the Narragansett was maintained throughout by the Mohegan after the Pequot had been dispersed by the English. Under Uncas the control over frontier tribes on the north toward the Massachusetts border line, and on the west across Connecticut River, was continued. Few of the land transfers along Long Island Sound as far as the Quinnipiac of New Haven were permitted without the consent and signature of the Mohegan sachem. So much for the reasons why the broken line is marked on the chart to indicate the dominions controlled by the Pequot and Mohegan.

One other consideration has a bearing upon the question of the supposed Pequot-Mohegan invasion. The name Pequot is given the meaning "destroyers," derived by Trumbull from *Paquatauog*,<sup>9</sup> which if correct is a deviation from the usual practice among the New England tribes, who carried names which were, in general, geographical. The reason is obvious in view of the indications just outlined.

Most of the older authorities concur in stating that the Pequot were invaders. Our summarized testimony comes from the Hubbard narrative, which relates how the Pequot, being "a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the continent and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the sea and became a terror to all their neighbors."<sup>10</sup> Drake adds "the time of their migration was unknown. They made all the other tribes stand in awe." Gookin, writing in 1656, spoke of the warlike character and political conquests of the Pequots, and adds an opinion on their migration.

Yet, even with some knowledge now of the Pequot and Mohegan dialects, we can not trace earlier habitat through the identities of speech either among the Delaware, the Mahican, or elsewhere—unless it be in that little-known region of the upper Connecticut River in central Massachusetts—since Mahican is not sufficiently closer, for instance, to Mohegan-Pequot than it is to Massachusetts (Natick). Otherwise failing to trace Mohegan-Pequot to an earlier home, we are left to regard the possibility of its having formed a local group in Connecticut, or in the interior of Massachusetts somewhere, which expanded and broadened its territory to an extent which in the eyes of its neighbors practically amounted to an invasion. In such

<sup>9</sup> J. Trumbull, *Indian Names in Connecticut* (1881), p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Drake, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 101.

a case the migration traditions we meet with applying to the Mohegan-Pequot may be relics of an earlier age and might perhaps concern all the southern New England Algonkian, who, it may be conceded, undoubtedly did at some time migrate into the coast lands from the westward; turning toward which region now we find lies in the direction of their nearest dialectic and cultural affinities, the region of the Hudson.

The local Mohegan migration legend may be even a reflection of the general eastern Algonkian migration belief which finds its expression in the *Walam Olum*<sup>11</sup> of the Delaware. To proceed a step farther in tracing the evidence, we may even cite the passage in this much-discussed, but evidently authentic, national legend. It says "*Wapanand tumewand waplowaan*," which is translated by Brinton's authorities as "the Easterners and the Wolves go northeast," and identified in his notes as the "*Wapings*," Wappinger (Wappinger-Mattabesec group of western Connecticut), and Minsi.<sup>12</sup> The passage concerned may, it seems probable, refer to the occasion when the Delaware eastward migration bifurcated in the Hudson River region, if in the text *Wapanand* denotes the Wappinger, and "wolves" denotes the Mahican by one of their synonyms. The denotations, however, are far from clear. ("The Easterners and those who were wolves went northeast" is the correct translation of the passage in Delaware, as I have learned in a recent study of the *Walam Olum* text, conducted under the authorization of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, with the aid of James Webber, a Delaware ex-chief, as informant.)

As valid as the theory of eastern Algonkian migration has come to be regarded by ethnologists, no one has, so far as I am aware, attempted to give a date for the New England migration legend except Doctor Dixon.<sup>13</sup> He thinks that the bands of southwestern New England were the most recent comers and were affiliated with the Lenapé, and that the latter arrived on the coast as late as the end of the fifteenth century. This, however, I judge might be placed somewhat earlier.

The question of the identity of the population which antedated the recent historic tribes in the coast regions does not concern us here, since the present inquiry bears only upon the contemporary Indians, but the assumption of earlier waves of Algonkian migration having entered the whole northeastern region represents, as Doctor Dixon outlines it, the concurrence of general opinion.

#### THE TRIBAL NAME AND SYNONYMS

A few secondary matters concerning identity arise from the material at hand which seem to deserve a word or two of comment. It will be noticed that Mrs. Fielding uses the term *Mohi'ks* to denote her

<sup>11</sup> The Lenape and their Legends, D. G. Brinton, pp. 208-209.

<sup>12</sup> Brinton, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>13</sup> R. B. Dixon, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1914, p. 11.

tribe. That this is a proper native appellation is likewise shown by the occurrence of the term *Moheges* in the Pequot vocabulary collected so long ago by President Stiles.<sup>1</sup> It was evidently a primary tribal synonym, the meaning of which may be, as writers have frequently taken it to be, "wolf," an animal listed as *mucks* in the Stiles vocabulary. The ordinary term Mohegan has itself caused some discussion as to its origin and application. The occurrence of the synonymous tribal name, Mahican, on the upper Hudson has unavoidably led to some confusion of the two peoples. They were, beyond doubt, two somewhat distinct groups having those connections which arose through being neighboring divisions of the eastern middle Algonkian. Cases of name similarity like this strike our attention frequently in other parts of the Algonkian region. Whether or not the Mohegan consciously acquired their name from the older group on the Hudson we should not be so sure, though in a former paper I perhaps unwisely implied as much. The name Mahican,<sup>2</sup> coming from the original of the same form, probably means "wolf," while Mohegan develops from Mohigannewuk, which may, like the other synonym, mean the same, though we have no such translation applied to it. This form of the tribal name, modified somewhat, "Mmooyauhegunnewuck," however, occurs in a native document drawn up by the Mohegan in 1786.<sup>3</sup> De Forest (op. cit., p. 448) publishes a similar petition of 1749 and spells the word "Moyanhegunnewog," making an evident error in *n* for *u*. Since these names were written by the Indians themselves, or at least dictated by them, they should be regarded as reliable synonyms. A variant of the same term is given by Trumbull, who in 1812 obtained the name Muhhekaneew (*Mahi'kanu*), plural Muhhekaneek, from the descendants of the tribe.<sup>4</sup> It might be well not to overlook an etymological relative of this name in Penobscot, *Mauhiga'nirwak*, meaning "people of the mouth of a river where it opens out into a harbor." Realizing, however, the unwisdom of pressing a solution in the explanation of such old and complicated terms, this, like so many Algonkian proper names, will have to remain a puzzle for some time yet.

<sup>1</sup> The vocabulary to which reference is frequently made here was collected by President Stiles, of Yale College, in 1764 from the "Pequot" and published in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1st series, vol. X (1801). The above name is given in other early documents as Moheegs by Wainwright (1735) in Maine Historical Society Collections (1806), 1st series, 1, p. 208; Mohegs, by Hyde in Drake, Book of the Indians, book II, p. 66 (1848).

<sup>2</sup> This form has been adopted through its priority, being so given on a Dutch map about 1614, republished in New York Document Collections of History, 1 (1856), and which is reproduced here (pl. 15) as being the oldest authentic reference to the Mohegan and Pequot, as well as the Mahican. A. B. Skinner (Notes on Mahikan Ethnology, Bull. Pub. Mus. of Milwaukee, vol. 2, no. 3, 1925, p. 91) states that the latter themselves give the meaning "wolf" to their name.

<sup>3</sup> This is in the form of a petition to the General Assembly of Connecticut at New Haven requesting permission for the two tribes Mohegan and Nehantic to fish and hunt and "have a separate bowl to eat out of," etc., dated Sept. 7, 1786. The original is in the possession of Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon of Mohegan. The signers were Henry Quaquaquid, Robert Ashpo, Philip Cuish, and Joseph Uppuckquantup.

<sup>4</sup> H. Trumbull, History of the Indian Wars, Norwich, 1812, p. 84.

An interesting addition to our knowledge of local tribal synonyms is provided by Mrs. Fielding's name for the Pequot, which she pronounced *Pi'kwut*. This checks up phonetically with the plural form *Pequittóog*, given by Roger Williams (1636), who presumably knew the language so well.<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Fielding no doubt could have given the Indian forms of other tribal names in New England, but unfortunately she was never induced to speak of them.

On several documents drawn up by the Mohegan themselves and addressed to the colonial assembly, the name of the Nehantic appears as "Nahantick," the Mohegan equivalent of which still is Nahantik. It is evidently "People of the Point," and refers to Black Point, a promontory 3 miles in length, where the Nehantic had their principal village.

#### COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF CERTAIN CULTURE FEATURES

So far we have paid attention only to the classification of speech. In respect to culture in general, it seems evident that within the confines of the whole southern New England group this was fairly uniform. Historical sources remain our chief reliance for the life and culture of the eastern bands. They are, of course, inadequate for the reconstruction of the native culture areas. Nevertheless, a number of evidences coincide to indicate that the geographical cleavage line between northern and southern New England, using the Merrimac River approximately for the division at the coast, was also an ethnological and dialectic bisector,<sup>1</sup> from which follows the inference of different culture-historical delimitations for the two areas. Northward from the Merrimac drainage area resided the members of the Wabanaki group, beginning with the Pigwacket of New Hampshire, extending eastward and embracing the Sakoki, Aroosaguntacook, and Norridgewock, and the better-known Wawenock, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, through to the Micmac. Here a relatively uniform set of internal features contrasts rather sharply with the corresponding properties of the southern New England family. The Wabanaki group shows us in material life and activity the preponderance of hunting, the important feature of large and well-defined family hunting territories, with a loosely organized society manifesting a tendency toward patriarchy. Here the chiefs lacked extreme power, and a confederacy developed, modeled after that of the Iroquois. Industrial life was characterized by the constant use of birch bark for the covering of the conical,

<sup>5</sup> Key into the Language of America. Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, vol. 1 (1827), p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is held by several authorities. Especially worth mentioning is a discussion by R. B. Dixon, "The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces," Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, April, 1914, pp. 4, 9.

tipi-like wigwams, for canoes, baskets, and utensils. The area is also characterized by a particular phase of northern art. Certain peculiar properties in archeology, such as the limitation of types of utensils to the gouges, celts, slate bayonet-like spears, keel-based stone pipes of the "Micmac" type, and the so-called "plummet stone" stand out preeminently, while small arrowheads, grooved axes, and pottery are comparatively scarce. The latter, where found, is crude and archaic. Contrasting with the above features, the southern New England peoples were more sedentary, assiduous agriculturists, more closely organized under what appears to have been a maternal clan system. Chiefs were powerful and autocratic, the resemblance bearing more to government of the Powhatan Algonkian type. Ceremonial life, too, seems to have been richer. Industrial life shows developments in ceramics, splint basketry, wooden mortars, bowls, and utensils, decorative art resembling more that of the Iroquois, dugout canoes, and especially rectangular-based oval-topped wigwams covered with mats. The archeology of the southern region shows a greater profusion in forms with bearings toward the central regions, in the abundance of small missile points, grooved axes, clay pipes, stone pipes of the so-called "monitor" type, and supposedly ceremonial objects. Pottery is finer and shows strong Iroquoian influence.<sup>2</sup>

Making the most of the matter which we have in hand, it seems as though it might be permitted to offer several fairly definite conclusions at this stage in the solution of the New England ethnological puzzle. One is the clearance of the linguistic identity of the Mohegan-Pequot with the Massachusetts-Narragansett, which has been called the southern New England group, previously hinted at by Professor Prince and myself<sup>3</sup> and later by Doctor Michelson.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, investigation seems to lend a corroborative aspect to the Mohegan tradition as well as to the ethnological and historical conjecture that the Mohegan-Pequot, and probably their affiliates south of the Merrimac, were an early offshoot of the Mahican confederates located on the Hudson. It seems to say that they were, as Doctor Michelson shows, in respect to dialect less closely related to the Wabanaki than to the Delaware and Mahican-Wappinger group. On the whole, we may not be far amiss in assigning for the southern New England group a migration almost due eastward from the Hudson, the drift working eastward, in broad terms along the southern border of the habitat of the more primitive and nomadic Wabanaki tribes. The ancestry of the latter, we may note in passing, points to an earlier residence northward and westward nearer the St. Lawrence River and the habitat of the Algonquin-Ojibwa group. The affirma-

<sup>2</sup> Doctor Dixon in his independent argument (*op. cit.*, pp. 4-8) lists other comparative features.

<sup>3</sup> Prince and Speck, I (1909), p. 184, footnote 2.

<sup>4</sup> Michelson, *op. cit.*, p. 57, "Mohegan-Pequot belongs with the Natick division of Central Algonquian languages, and Mohegan-Pequot is a *y* dialect, thus agreeing with Narragansett."



tive feeling supporting these relationships is further strengthened by the consideration of the characteristics of cultural life, in society and in industry, in religious beliefs and in mythology, so far as we have records of it.

With these tentative summaries in view, then, I may venture to suggest a few supplementary hypotheses in harmony with those proposed in 1914 by Doctor Dixon. Southern New England Algonkian culture shows two phases, one early and archaic, which is overtopped by another bearing certain imprints of conformity with an Iroquoian culture. Hence, the assumption follows that the southern New England tribes were settled in their territories some time before the Iroquois migration toward the Hudson, a migration which is generally believed in by most American ethnologists. If the Iroquois migration dates back to about 1400, then the southern New England Algonkian might have been several centuries earlier in their arrival. This would correspond to the assumption already entertained that the Virginian Powhatan tribes migrated into the tidewater region about the same time. Granting, accordingly, some value to the testimony of the Delaware migration legend, these secondary migrations of the Mohegan and the southern Algonkian would seem to coincide.

Turning for a moment to northern New England and eastern Canada, we miss the evidences of an Iroquois cultural invasion. There was only a relatively late political and military pressure. The conditions are totally different. The historic Algonkian of the lower St. Lawrence Valley, embracing the Montagnais and Naskapi divisions and the Wabanaki and Micmac bands, evidently came in from the northwest and west, and carried eastward to the Atlantic an early form of Cree and Ojibwa culture, the former keeping more to the northern coast of the St. Lawrence and the latter crossing and following the southern shore thence to the ocean in northern New England. Beneath the cultures of this Middle Age Algonkian host, and anterior to it in point of time, there is still good reason to believe another stratum of proto-Algonkian resided in the north Atlantic coastal belt. To untangle the ethnological snarl will prove to be no easy task for those who have started the undertaking.

#### REMARKS ON THE LIFE OF MRS. FIELDING

Having developed a point of view as to the probable position of the Mohegan-Pequot group among the surrounding peoples, let us turn directly to the subject material itself and to some of the circumstances involved in its history. The person to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for having taken such a vital interest in her tribe's language and history was a woman of a somewhat unusual cast of mind. Born September 15, 1827, at Mohegan, Mrs. Fielding spent her girlhood among a number of old Indians whose familiar language was

still Mohegan.<sup>1</sup> She was raised by her grandmother, Martha Uncas. Between the two Mohegan was about the only means of communication. After Martha's death, supposed to have occurred in 1859, Mrs. Fielding had practically no one with whom she could converse in Indian, consequently her knowledge of the idiom had begun to wane. With her passing away there is now no one who has a consecutive knowledge of the old language, though there are still in the tribe a number who know scattered words and sentences, and one, an old man of almost pure Indian blood, who may possibly have known the language when a boy. But he has not at this time the ability either to translate it or to impart it to another, a condition, strange as it may seem, quite true in a number of cases of unintellectual individuals who are bilingual. In my own remembrance of the Mohegan, covering a period of about 25 years, there have died four persons who probably understood the language, at least, if they did not speak it in their younger days.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Fielding was, accordingly, a personage of rather unique importance in the history of the eastern tribes, on account of which a few particulars of her life and personality, so far as these are known, may be of incidental value. In the report of the commission of 1876 she was listed as being of five-eighths Pequot blood. She possessed a cast of mind and appearance typically Indian. Her home in her later years was a place of solitude amid the brush and pasture land of the old Mohegan settlement. Here she tended a tiny garden, alone except for the companionship of creatures of her imagination and an occasional stray dog, a fox or deer appearing in her clearing, always bearing to her sensitive mind some augury or omen. Her atmosphere was that fairyland of giants, dwarfs, will-o'-the-wisps, ghosts, and haunts, which beset her ways more and more as she grew older. In this respect she portrayed a phase of the old New England Indian paganism in her anthropomorphic concept of *Ma'ndu*, *di'bi*, and other monsters of the intangible world. Her inclination to moralize from Nature evidently exhibited another influence of early Indian training, the cause of her animistic and superstitious deductions in any attempt on her part to reason out her environment.

It may be observed how Mrs. Fielding's point of view toward religion, her diction, her order of thought, resemble those of the talks and addresses given in the ceremonies of the Central Algonkian. From our point of view, hers is peculiarly erratic at times, her interests self-centered. Like many Indians, she manifests an

<sup>1</sup> These were represented by the Uncas, Ooecum, Wyyoughs, Teeecomwas, Ashbow, Boheny, Hoscutt, Tantaquidgeon, Cooper, and Fowler families, most of them full bloods.

<sup>2</sup> Besides Mrs. Fielding, there were Hannah Dolbeare, Lester Skeesucks, Emma Baker, and possibly Amy Cooper.

odd sentimentalism, one difficult for most Europeans to appreciate. She had the fancy of applying to herself an Indian name, *Dji'ts Bud'-anacα*, "Flying Bird," though I never learned from her what circumstances were involved in its selection.

She was intensely nationalistic in her views, a staunch believer in the valor and nobility of the ancient *Mohi'ksi'nag*, "Mohegan men," and in the degeneracy of character of the contemporary generation. Like most Indians of the East, she never forgot to lament the political and moral injuries done her race by the whites. Her most cordial feelings toward me during the time of our friendship were occasionally interrupted by outbreaks of racial antipathy on her part, reawakened by the memory of the Yankees, whose name she derived from the active verb denoted in the first syllable of the word.

In her diary she expresses herself better than she probably intended. She betrays her biased attitude, religious fanaticism, her moral inconsistency, egoism, and fundamental native superstition. Yet her declarations manifest a deep human sympathy. How she commiserated those sinners whom she knew so well among her neighbors in the settlement, making her appeals to *Ma'ndu* in their behalf, her mention of the poor and starving, the victims of the Long Island Sound steamboat wreck, and of the sick.

Her general style of expression is monotonous, evidently another portrayal of nature thought, together with the deep feeling for nature's turns, as though the diurnal flight of time, soberly recorded in the sounding chain of reflective phrases "it is already noon, already night, the sun is gone," would interest anyone but a connoisseur.

The poor old woman, I have always felt, never intended that her simple emotions should be so exposed to the eyes of the bustling world of *Wan'aksag*, "white men," with whom she had but little in common, for at the time they were penned by her no other individual besides myself was taking any pains whatsoever to master her speech, a fact which she knew and lamented so frequently. Much more could be said of her personal idiosyncrasies, but let us turn to her self-declarations. They convey the most real picture of the aged, lonely, and profoundly reflective Mohegan woman, an assuredly interesting case for the social psychologist.

The original manuscript of the diary consists of four notebooks in Mrs. Fielding's handwriting, which is clear and legible. Her orthography is the ordinary English system, which I have had to put into consistent phonetic form, a task impossible had it not been for the circumstance that she had schooled me in her method and dictated, at different times during her life, her words to me so that most of them had been recorded previously in a phonetic system. The diaries themselves are now in the possession of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). Through the kindness of Mr. George G. Heye, the director, permission has been given to present them in this form.

## PHONETIC NOTE

The characters which are used to represent the sounds in this dialect are those advocated in the report of the Committee on Linguistics of the Bureau of American Ethnology.<sup>1</sup> The specific values of these in Mohegan-Pequot are as follows:

*Vowels:*

- a, open, medium.
- α, open, medium, like *u* in English *but*.
- iː, long, closed, like *ee* in English *queen*.
- i, short, as in English *pin*.
- o, u, open, medium, and only slightly differentiated as finals.
- ə, open, long, like *a* in English *ball*.

*Consonants:*

- b, d, z, g, sonants as in English.
  - p, t, s, k, surds as in English.
  - m, n, as in English.
  - c, surd as *sh* in English.
  - dj, sonant affricative, like *dg* in English *edge*.
  - tc, surd affricative, like *ch* in English *church*.
  - ŋ, palatal, like *ng* in English *song*.
  - ai, oi, au, are true diphthongs.
  - h, w, y, semivowels, as in English. (When *h* precedes *w*, the aspiration is indicated by rough breathing '.)
- Stress accent is noted by '.

Consonants in juxtaposition which are to be pronounced as separate sounds are divided by the apostrophe ', denoting a pause, as *bi' t'cα*, in which *t'c* is pronounced as though it were *t + sh* in English.

It is to be remarked that several familiar Algonkian properties are unusual or wanting in this dialect; for instance, among vowels short *i*, as in English *pin*, is rare; and also *e*, both long and short (as *a* in English *gate* and as in English *met*), is wanting. It is not so unusual, though it presents a mark of individuality of Mohegan-Pequot, that *l* is wanting and is replaced by *y* in words which are cognate with those of other Algonkian *r*, *n*, or *l* dialects. The replacement operates in the case of *n* in the neighboring and contiguous members of the southern New England group, Narragansett-Massachusetts.

No doubt the phonetic qualities of the dialect have been somewhat corrupted by a long period of contact with the English; yet there seems little doubt but that the positive characteristics encountered are genuine features. By way of comparison we may observe that this dialect is phonetically uniform with the other southern New England divisions except for the *y* distinction in the transposition of *r*, *l*, *n*, *y*, a feature in this area corresponding to the same thing in the Cree-Montagnais family and apparently also in southeastern

<sup>1</sup> Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, vol. 66, pp. 120-126 (1916).

Algonkian, or Powhatan, in the latter making due allowances, of course, for the poor quality of the material that is at this time available.

Mohegan-Pequot is thus less vocalic than its neighbor dialects. In fact it seems less so than any others in the eastern area south of the St. Lawrence. Among consonantic peculiarities our material shows a fondness for clusters composed of two members, often a stop plus sibilant, *kc, ks, t's, tc* (rarely), *bc, pc, ktc, ntc, nc, mc, ms*; combinations so frequent as to give a rather distinctive acoustic coloring to the dialect. Again, *ck, sk, cs, pk, tp, dkw, t'k, sk, cb, mb*, showing the reverse order of spirant-stop and stop plus stop, are abundantly represented.

Nasalization of vowels is absent, although it is attributed to the Massachusetts by Eliot. (Cf. Ind. Grammar begun, 1666. Old South Leaflets no. 52, p. 4.)

## DIARY OF MRS. FIELDING

1902

*December 20.*—Yu yumbo'wi gi'zack da'bi na'wa. tei'wi ba'skwa, gi'zack gasu'bata. gi'zack dju'wa'yu, tei'wi da'pku, ka'dji da'pku, gi'zack gata'wi.

*December 21.*—gu'pkwad, mici'yun yugi'sk, ka'dji ba'skwa, zu'gayun wa'mi da'pku.

*December 22.*—wi'go yugi'sk, yumbo'wi wi'go, gi'zack dju'wa'yu, tei'wi dapku, ka'dji da'pku, gi'zack gata'wi,<sup>1</sup> dju'wa'yu.

*December 23.*—Ka'yu yumbo'wi ma'djag gu'n, wi'go tei'wi da'pku. Ray ta'mham co' wu'dkwane yudai' yugi'sk, ka'yu yuda'pkag, waba'yu wa'mi yugi'sk, wota'n mi'ki'go yuda'pkag.

*December 24.*—wi'gantα yugi'sk, dja'nau ka'yu ka'dji da'pku, ta'mam co' yudai'.

*December 25.*—zu'te'pu, tei'wi dapku, zu'te'pu.

*December 26.*—gu'n mata'wi'yu nana'wa waks yu yumbo'wi do' haun<sup>3</sup> nateka'wa waks, zu'te'pu ka'dji da'pku, gi'zack gata'wi da'pku.

*December 27.*—gi'zack ba'danta, mata'wi gu'n. da'bi gana'wa gi'zack yugi'sk, tei'wi ba'skwa tei'wi da'pku dju'wa'yu.

*December 28.*—t'ka'yu yuyumbo'wi, dja'ci gu'n tei'wi da'pku, gi'zack gata'wi ka'dji da'pku, madda'bi na'wa gi'zack, wi'gantα yugi'sk, wa'mi gu'n.

*December 29.*—wi'go gi'zack yu yumbo'wi. da'bi gana'wa ba'danta wa'mi gu'n, ka'dji ba'skwa mo'wi gata'wi zu'gayun, da'pku zu'gayun, yuda'pkag gi'zack wi'go.

*December 30.*—gi'zack wi'gantα yu yumbo'wi, tei'wi ba'skwa, ka'dji da'pku, ma'djag gi'zack. gi'zack wi'gantα dju'wa'yu yugi'sk.

*December 31.*—wi'go yugi'sk, ka'dji da'pku.

1903

*January 1.*—gi'zack wi'go ba'danta wi'mo yugi'sk ka'dji. da'pku, gi'zack gata'wi.

*January 2.*—gi'zack ba'danta yuyumbo'wi, ka'dji ba'skwa, ka'dji da'pku.

*January 3.*—zu'gayun yuyumbo'wi, gu'pkwad. ka'dji ba'skwa, gu'pkwad, ka'dji da'pku.

*January 4.*—gu'pkwad tei'wi da'pku, ka'dji da'pku.

<sup>1</sup> An idiomatic, evidently an incorrect, use of the intentional auxiliary preposition.

<sup>3</sup> English loan word, from "hound."



## DIARY OF MRS. FIELDING

1902

*December 20.*—This early morning the sun I can see. Nearly noon, the sun is hot. The sun is warm, nearly night, already it is night, the sun is gone.

*December 21.*—Cloudy day, great rain to-day, already [it is] noon, rain all night.

*December 22.*—Clear to-day; early morning clear, the sun is warm, nearly night, already it is night, the sun is gone; it is warm.

*December 23.*—Cold early morning, no snow; clear nearly night. Ray<sup>2</sup> cut wood here to-day; cold to-night, it is windy all day, wind is strong to-night.

*December 24.*—[Sun] clear rising to-day, only cold, already night, going cutting here.<sup>4</sup>

*December 25.*—Snow is falling, nearly night, snow is falling.

*December 26.*—Snow is very much. I see a fox this early morning and a hound following fox, snow is falling toward night, sun gone, night.

*December 27.*—Sun rising, much fallen snow. You can see the sun to-day, nearly noon. Nearly night, it is warm.

*December 28.*—It is cold this early morning, so much snow, nearly night; sun gone, nearly night, can not see the sun, it was clear to-day, all snow.

*December 29.*—Clear sun this early morning. You can see at [sun] rising all snow. Already noon, it is coming on about to rain; night, rain. To-night the sun [sic!] is clear.

*December 30.*—Sun is rising clear this early morning; nearly noon, already night, the sun is gone.

*December 31.*—The sun is rising clear, warm to-day. It is clear to-day; already night.

1903

*January 1.*—The sun is clear rising bright to-day. Already night, sun gone.

*January 2.*—The sun rising this early morning, already noon; already night.

*January 3.*—Rain this early morning, cloudy day. Already noon, cloudy, already night.

*January 4.*—Cloudy day nearly ['till] night; already night.

---

<sup>2</sup> This mention immortalizes Joseph Ray, an old man who frequently did chores for Mrs. Fielding.

<sup>4</sup> She means that wood cutting is going on roundabout.

*January 5.*—gi'zæck wi'go, næwu't'cæ<sup>5</sup> *Palmertown.*

*January 6.*—zu'gæyun yuyumbo'wi', zu'te'pu ba'skwæ, ka'dji. da'pku.

*January 7.*—ka'dji næwombu'nsian. gi'zæck ba'danta wi'mo, ka'yu yuyumbo'wi' zu'te'pu, ka'dji ba'skwæ, da'pku.

*January 8.*—gu'pkwad gi'zæck ba'danta. ka'dji da'pku, ka'yu, gi'zæck gata'wi'

*January 9.*—ka'yu da'pku, næwu't'cæ *Palmertown.* ka'dji da'pku gi'zæck gata' wi'mo.

*January 10.*—gi'zæck ba'danta wi'mo, wi'go. ka'yu yumbo'wi', ka'dji ba'skwæ, ka'dji da'pku. mæd waba'yu da'pkæg.

*January 11.*—ka'yu yumbo'wi', gu'pkwad, zu'gæyun, zu'te'pu ni'gen'i' yugi'sk.

*January 12.*—gi'zæck ba'danta wi'mo, zu'te'pu, ka'yu. wo'tan mi'ki'go, waba'yu ka'dji tei'wi' ba'skwæ, da'pku ka'yu.

*January 13.*—gi'zæck ba'danta wi'mo, ka'yu, tei'wi' ba'skwæ, da'pku ka'yu.

*January 14.*—gi'zæck ba'danta ka'yu yuyumbo'wi' ka'yu gu'pkwad yuda'pkæg.

*January 15.*—gu'pkwad yuyumbo'wi', ka'yu, mæ'djag gu'n. t'ka'yu tei'wi' ba'skwæ, ka'dji da'pku.

*January 16.*—t'ka'yu gu'pkwad, tei'wi' ba'skwæ wang.<sup>7</sup> mæ'djag gu'n. mæd ni wi'ya'm'o.<sup>8</sup> ka'dji da'pku, gi'zæck gatawi', mæ'djag.

*January 17.*—ba'danta gi'zæck mæd gu'pkwad yu. ka'dji. ba'skwæ. o'ski'tcæ<sup>9</sup> yuda'pku.

*January 18.*—gi'zæck ba'danta yu yumbo'wi' ka'yu, mæ'djag gu'n, wo'tan mi'ki'go yudai'. ka'dji ba'skwæ, mata'wi' wo'tan yudai'. da'pku, mæ'djag gi'zæck, t'ka'yu yudai'.

*January 19.*—gi'zæck ba'danta ka'yu. ka'dji ba'skwæ, zung-wo'tan kwa'djag, wi'munai'. ka'dji da'pku, t'ka'yu.

*January 20.*—Ka'yu gi'zæck badanta, ka'dji ba'skwæ, mæd ni wi'ya'm'o.

*January 21.*—Zu'gæyun yu yumbo'wi', tei'wi' ba'skwæ, ka'dji da'pku yu'mbawang.

*January 22.*—gi'zæck ba'danta yu yumbo'wi'. ma næwo't'cæ la'ndi'n yugi'sk.

*January 23.*—gu'pkwad, mæ'djag gu'n, gi'zæck ba'danta wa'næn-kwi,<sup>12</sup> ka'dji da'pku, t'ka'yu yuda'pkæg.

—F. A. H. F. wuskwi'g.

<sup>5</sup> A rather interesting verb, containing wuteai "from," and affording another example of the secondary stem—*cæ*, *cæ'* denoting movement. (Cf. Wabanaki (i') *ia*, (i') *ie*.) See *ta'mæn cæ'* on previous page.

<sup>7</sup> This conjunction is peculiar to the Delaware dialectic family. (Cf. Del. *woan̄k*, *woak*, "also.") It does not occur in the Wabanaki tongues.

<sup>8</sup> The sense and meaning here are obscure.

<sup>9</sup> An unfamiliar term. I take it to be cognate with Natick *wussekittea*—to please (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, p. 206). Natick and Narragansett *tea* = Mohegan-Pequot *tea*. Natick *teagwan* = *tca'gwan*.

<sup>12</sup> She departs from her usual term *wi'ya'ngu* here and uses one which is evidently Narragansett.

*January 5.*—Sun is clear, I have been to Palmertown.<sup>6</sup>

*January 6.*—Rain this early morning, snow falling noon; already night.

*January 7.*—Already so I live till another dawn. Sun rising clear; cold this early morning; snow falling; already noon; night.

*January 8.*—Cloudy day, sun rising. Already night; cold; sun gone.

*January 9.*—Cold night; I go to Palmertown. Already night sun gone [down] clear.

*January 10.*—Sun rising clear, it is good. Cold early morning; already noon; already night. Not windy in the night.

*January 11.*—Cold early morning, cloudy day, rain; snowfall preceded to-day.

*January 12.*—Sun rising clear, snow falling, cold. Wind is strong, it is windy, already nearly noon, night cold.

*January 13.*—Sun rising clear. Cold, nearly noon; night cold.

*January 14.*—Sun rising cold this early morning cold, cloudy toward to-night.

*January 15.*—Cloudy day this early morning; cold; snow gone. Cold nearly noon, already night.

*January 16.*—Cold cloudy day, nearly noon, too. Snow gone. I do not feel well.<sup>10</sup> Already night, sun going, gone.

*January 17.*—Rising sun not cloudy this [morning]. Already noon. It is pleasant to-night.

*January 18.*—Sun rising this early morning cold; snow gone, wind is strong here. Already noon, much wind here. Night, sun gone, cold here.<sup>11</sup>

*January 19.*—Sun rises cold. Already noon; cold wind outdoors, that's the truth. Already night, cold.

*January 20.*—Cold sun rising; already noon; I do not feel well.

*January 21.*—Rain this early morning, nearly noon; already night again.

*January 22.*—Sun rising this early morning. I have been to Landing<sup>13</sup> to-day.

*January 23.*—Cloudy day, snow gone at sun rising yesterday;<sup>14</sup> already night, cold at night.

—F. A. H. F.'s book.

<sup>6</sup> A village often mentioned by the autobiographer where she broke the monotony of her isolation by shopping for provisions.

<sup>10</sup> I am not certain about the translation of this phrase.

<sup>11</sup> Our author shows partiality at times for certain word repetitions.

<sup>13</sup> "Landing" is the old name for Norwich in vogue among the Mohegan. They used to ascend the Thames by canoe as far as the junction of the Shetucket and Yantic Rivers. This point is now in the heart of the city. At the "landing" they carried on their trade with the Yankces.

<sup>14</sup> I can only make sense out of the confused expression here by manipulating the punctuation.

1904

May 17.—mici'un yugi'sk. ba'ki' zab da'bi' natu'n la'ndi'n. mäd da'bi' nai'wö' su'mi' mäd näwo'tö'. wa'ndjæg ski'dämbak da'bi' i'wö'k mata'wi', dja't'ei' i'wö'k mäd wi'munai oi i'wö'k.

May 18.—gu'pkwad, zu'ganəngwad, mo'wi' wi'yun.

May 19.—gu'pkwad, zu'ganəngwad, mo'wi' zu'gayun. mici'yun da'ka zu'gayun. tei'pə'gi' wotə'gəpa dja'gwane. naka'tpə pi'amag mäd da'bi' naka'n'ə, nasi'wa'təm wo'tei' ni'.

May 20.—mici'yun, zu'ganəngwad, mo'wi' wi'yun wə'yəngwote. napə'd'əwə hau'nəg, ba'ki' nateka'wak wəjks. ka'dji' də'pku.

May 21.—gu'pkwad wa'mi' yugi'sk da'ka zu'gayun napau' gi'zə-kade. zu'gayun ba'skwa. nə ə'p'u la'ndi'n wi'yəngo, andai' wa'mi' ba'keəmo, mäd zu'gayun, andai' nə bi'ya home<sup>15</sup> əg.

May 22.—wi'nəngwad gi'zəck ba'dənta.

May 23.—wi'nəngwad yu yumbo'wi' gi'zəck. wa'mi' dja'gwane wa'camuc.<sup>17</sup> gəto'wi' mata'wi' ə'p'i'səg.<sup>18</sup>

May 24.—tei'wi' ba'skwa, ka'dji' nəmi'dju nədi'nai su'mi' nəya'ndəmo.

May 25.—mə'ndu wi'go, womi'zi'am nəmi'ki'gwəng wa'dji' nəda'bi' gətə'mki' nətai'nəməwə nəhə'g, su'mi' mə'dəm ə'wə'n nətai'nəməng.

May 26.—nəti'ə' Palmertown wi'yəngo, tei'pə'gi' nə so'səni' wə'yəngwote. dja'nau mə'ndu wi'go wotai'nəməng.

May 27.—su'mi' nə mäd da'bi' tai'nəməwə nəhə'g, ni' wa'dji' ə'wə'n mäd wo'tö' dja'nau kəntətei'. ni'ya'yo mo.

May 28.—gi'zəck ba'dənta yumbo'wi'. mə'ndu wi'go su'mi' ni' mäd wa'djəna ə'wə'n, dja'nau mə'ndu. wotai'nəməng wa'mi' dja'gwane. moi'ək wa'djanak wa'mənc, nəgau'hig wa'mənc, nəwa'djana kəntətei' mə'ni' andai' mäd nənapəyā'ntəm. tei'pə'gi' zə'yəngwad, ni'ya'yo. nəmo'wi' nə'wa tēam'əjksəg kə'djaks bə'ngəsə. nəsi'wa'təm wo'tei' nə'gəm, mäd da'bi' wotai'nəməwə wohə'gə<sup>19</sup> ni'ya'yo.

May 29.—mə'ndu wi'go nəga'wi' mäd dja'gwan bi'yö'mo nəkwö'wi' haig.

May 30.—gu'pkwad. mə'ndu wi'go nəga'wi' wə'yəngwote. nəna'mə ə'ngatəg gi'zəck. nəgətə'mki', nə mo'wi' zi'ckənas, nəmi'dj nəbi'yö'djəpəs.<sup>20</sup> mäd nəwa'djana ə'wə'n nətai'nəməng. ni'ya'yo.

May 31.—mə'ndu wi'go su'mi' wotai'nəməng wa'mi' dja'gwane natəyā'təm, mə'ndu wotai'nəməng.

<sup>15</sup> An unmodified English loan word with the characteristic Mohegan locative suffix (-əg).

<sup>17</sup> A verb for which I can find in my notes no definite meaning, though its endings, -m(o) possibly a continuative, -c inanimate plural, are familiar. Narragansett *assame* to eat.

<sup>18</sup> English loan word with animate plural termination.

<sup>19</sup> The final -ə occurring with this pronoun several times in the texts is interesting and also rather puzzling. It may possibly be the obviative, corresponding to Wabanaki -ə'.

<sup>20</sup> A rather interesting Indian corruption of "breakfast," the usual phonetic substitutions peculiar to this dialect appearing for r and f. Other English loan words on this page are di'nai, "dinner" (May 24) and mə'ni', "money" (May 28).

1904

*May 17.*—Drizzle to-day. Maybe to-morrow can I go to Landing. I can not say because I do not know. Those people [who] can say much, half [what] they say is not true as they say [it].

*May 18.*—Cloudy, looks rainy, been full moon.

*May 19.*—Cloudy, looks rainy, going to rain. Drizzle and rain. Dreadfully wet [are] things. I want to eat fish [but] I can not catch [one], I am sorry for that.

*May 20.*—Drizzle, looks rainy, it has been full moon last evening. I heard hounds, probably they chased a fox.<sup>16</sup> Already night.

*May 21.*—Cloudy all day and rain [for] five days. Rain at noon. I stayed [at] Landing last night, then all broke away, did not rain, then I came home.

*May 22.*—Looking clear [at] sun rising.

*May 23.*—Looking clear now at early morning sun. All things feed. Going to be many apples.

*May 24.*—Nearly noon, already I ate my dinner because I was hungry.

*May 25.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, he gives me my strength so that I can get up [and] I help myself, because never anyone helps me.

*May 26.*—Went to Palmertown yesterday, dreadfully was I tired last evening. Only *Ma'ndu* is good he helps me.

*May 27.*—Because I can not help myself, that is why anyone does not know only a little. That is ever so.

*May 28.*—Sun rises early. *Ma'ndu* is good because I do not have anyone only *Ma'ndu*. He helps me [in] all things. Hens have eggs, I need eggs, [since] I have only a little money, so I do not die of hunger. Dreadfully cold, that is so. I am going to see the pitiful boy [who] is lame.<sup>21</sup> I am sorry for him, he can not help himself, that is so.

*May 29.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I slept. Nothing come [that] I feared.

*May 30.*—Cloudy day. *Ma'ndu* is good. I slept last night. I see another sun. I get up, I go to milk; I eat my breakfast. I do not have anyone to help me. That is so.

*May 31.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because he helps me in all things I think, *Ma'ndu* helps me.

<sup>16</sup> The location of the old lady's home was in a wild and unfrequented district marked by the signs of former Mohegan occupation, but in her time it had reverted to "old fields," the lurking place of deer, foxes and small animals which were her familiar neighbors.

<sup>21</sup> She refers to a young Mohegan, Theodore Cooper, who was at that time a cripple from the effects of inflammatory rheumatism.

*June 1.*—má'ndu womi'zám nāmi'ki'gwang oca'mi' da'bi nānamá wa'mi' dja'gwane yudai'.

*June 2.*—má'ndu wi'go. nágata'mki' nāmi'dju su'mi' náwa'dja-nām mi'ki'gwang wo'tei' má'ndu. mād ni' da'bi' wa'djanām dja'gwan dja'nau wo'tei' má'ndu ni' ya'yo.

*June 3.*—má'ndu wi'go, náwa'djanām wa'mi' dja'gwane bi'yo'muc wi'gane, ya'yo.

*June 4.*—má'ndu mād wi'ya'mo dja'gwan bi'yo'mo yudai'-mi'zám náwa'dji'na da'bi' tai'nāmowá náhā'g.

*June 9.*—nānā'wa má'ndu. wa'mi' dja'gwane i'wō'k má'ndu wowu'stō' yuc mād ni'da'bi' náwu'stō' náhā'g, i'wō'k i'n mād da'bi' wu'stō' bo'zāgwan mi'tu'g.

*June 10.*—nānā'wa á'ygata'g gi'zack su'mi' má'ndu wi'go máta'wi' i'n mād wu'stō'k dja'nau kanteatei'. woyá'tām wo'tō' máta'wi' ni'ya'yo.

*June 11.*—t'ka'yu yumbo'wi, ni'ya'yo. wa'mi' dja'gwane wi'gowag, ta'd'asāg<sup>23</sup> dō' wi'wa'teamāne. ō'wa'n mās wa'djanā dja'gwan mi'djudi', mād'u'm yu'ndām'o.

*June 12.*—má'ndu wi'go, wāmi' dja'gwane i'wō'k ni', i'wō'k má'ndu wi'go.

*June 13.*—má'ndu wi'go, su'mi' wa'mi' dja'gwane i'wō'k da'bātni' má'ndu! má'ndu wu'stō' wa'mi' yuc dja'gwane gānā'wā. wa'mi' su'mi' wo'tō' oi, wu'stod wa'dji' mās wi'gane. wotai'nāmowá wa'mi' dja'gāwane' ski'dām'bak wāg.

*June 14.*—má'ndu wi'go mād da'bi' ná ai dja'nau má'ndu nátai'-nāmāg, āndai' náda'bi' tai'nāmowá náhā'gā wa'djanā yun mi'ki'gwāg.

*June 15.*—yugi'sk wi'go. má'ndu wi'go. su'mi' wo'tō' wa'mi' dja'gwane. ski'dāmb mād wo'tō' dja'nau kanteatei' oi wo'tod má'ndu. má'ndu gā'ŋktei', máta'wi' wi'go, teā'ntei' gi'yau' wi'go wāg, āndai' mās nāp'u'yun gā á'p'u má'ndunāg, ni' i'wō' má'ndu. teā'ntei' mād gāso'sān'i, so'sān'i'ān' teā'ntei' gānā'tā'dāmowá mā'ndu, mās gāwa'd'ānam<sup>24</sup> gāmi'ki'wāg wo'tei' má'ndu. āndai' mās gāmomi'ki'dō'.

*June 16.*—má'ndu wi'go. womi'zō' wa'mi' wa'dji' wi'ya'mowāg, wa'dji' wi'ya'māmod ni'wa'dji' wi'go.

*June 17.*—má'ndu wi'go. náwo'teō' basāgwanā'ntāksāg yugi'sk mād náwa'djanā dja'gwan ni'dai'. dji'tsāg gātu'mak wi'gu.

<sup>23</sup> An Indianized English loan word again with the animate plural denomination. Yet the next vegetable "corn" has the logical inanimate plural ending (-c).

<sup>24</sup> This word was strange to me in Mohegan, but it can be traced to cognate St. Francis Abenaki (Aroosaguntacook) *wadnoma'k* "to get, secure, something."



*June 1.*—*Mα'ndu* gives my strength because I can see all things here.

*June 2.*—*Mα'ndu* is good. I get up, I eat because I have strength from *Mα'ndu*. I could not have anything [except] only from *Mα'ndu*. That is so.

*June 3.*—*Mα'ndu* is good. I have all things. They come good [ones], it is so.

*June 4.*—*Mα'ndu* [does] not let anything<sup>22</sup> come here. He gives me that I can help myself.

*June 9.*—I know *Mα'ndu*. All things declare *Mα'ndu* has made them. I can not make myself, they declare man can not make one tree.

*June 10.*—I see another sun because *Mα'ndu* is good exceedingly. Man does not make but little. He thinks he knows much. That is so.

*June 11.*—Cold early in the morning, that is so. All things are good, potatoes and the corn. One will have something eatable, never be hungry [long].

*June 12.*—*Mα'ndu* is good, all things declare that, they say *Mα'ndu* is good.

*June 13.*—*Mα'ndu* is good, because all things say, "Thank you for that *Mα'ndu*!" *Mα'ndu* makes all these things you see. All because he knows how [it is] making [them] so that they will be good. He keeps all things, people, too.

*June 14.*—*Mα'ndu* is good. I can not be [anything] only [when] *Mα'ndu* helps me, then I can help myself [to] have here this strength.

*June 15.*—To-day is good. *Mα'ndu* is good because he knows all things. A person does not know but a little unless knowing *Mα'ndu*. *Mα'ndu* is very great, exceedingly good. Must you and I be good, too, then when you die you [will] rest in heaven. So says *Mα'ndu*. [You] must not become weary, if you do become weary [you] must ask for *Mα'ndu*. [Then] will you get your strength from *Mα'ndu*. Then will you grow strong.

*June 16.*—*Mα'ndu* is good. He gives all toward health, that being well therefore [one can be] good.

*June 17.*—*Mα'ndu* is good. I have been to Muddy Cove to-day. I did not have anything there.<sup>25</sup> The birds sang nicely.

<sup>22</sup> We are obliged to insert "evil" here to make sense.

<sup>25</sup> She refers to mail.

*June 18.*—*má'ndu* wi'go *məd* *nə* wa'djə<sup>nə</sup> *mata'wi* dja'naw *nə* i'wə' də'bat ni' *má'ndu*. *má'ndu* pə'd'əman əndəi' *məs* *nə* wa'djə-nam nadi'nai. *məd* *nəwə'tə* dja'gwan *wam* nati', *má'ndu* *məd*'um *natai'*naməŋg.

*June 19.*—*nədə'bi* i'wə' *má'ndu* wi'go *má'ndu* wə'tə' *məd*'um ə'wa'n wotai'naməŋg *məd* *nəwə'djə<sup>nə</sup>* ə'wa'n. *wa'mi* ski'dəmb wotai'namowə wohəg, *məd* *gato'wi* tai'namowə ə'wa'n. *nə* tci'pə'gi' si'wa'tam wə'tci' wə'ndjəg ski'dəmbak də' *mə'kak* də' *məki'a'-wi'səg*<sup>26</sup> ni'dai' *steamboat* *wa'mi* wi'yu't. *te'a'məŋksəg* *wa'mi*. *məd* də'bi' ə'wa'n wotai'namowə wohəg. *te'a'ntci* *wam* *bata'gi'wag* əndai' *kwə'dji'wag* wə'tci' *boat əg*.

*June 20.*—*Má'ndunag* ni'dai' *məd* bi'yo'mo dja'gwan *məd* wi'gənc su'mi' *má'ndu* *məd* də'bi' *kə'n'amun*, ni' wa'dji' bi'yo' *má'ndu* *kə'djəks* yudai' *ba'mkugi* . . .<sup>28</sup> *wa'dji* də'bi' *gə* ə'p'u *məndunag*. *te'a'ntci* *gə* si'wa'tam wə'tci' *wa'mi* dja'gwanc *gati'* *məd* wi'gənu'd, də' *te'a'ntci* ə'wa'n *məd*'um wi'ktamən. *má'ndu* *məd* *teu'yə* ski'dəmbak wə'wi'zə'wag di'bi' *má'ndu* *teu'yə* *wa'mi* ski'dəmbak bi'yc'k *na'gəm* a'bəd *má'ndunag*. di'bi' *kwa'gwiteayu* wa'dji' də'bi' *kə'n'ə* ski'dəmbak. di'bi' *yə'təm* yu *ba'mkugi* *na'gəm* wə'tə', ski'dəmbak wəŋg, *məntci*, nai.<sup>29</sup> *dja'nau* wə'tci' *Jesus Christ* bi'yo'mo *məd* də'bi' i' dja'gwan. *Jesus Christ* *məs* *pə'n'ə* di'bi' wə'tci' *má'ndunag* su'mi' *tayandə'ksku* də'kə *gau'hig* *Jesus Christ* a'bəd' yu *məd* də'bi' di'bi' *gəsa'gwi* *má'ndunag*. *Jesus Christ* *məs* *pə'n'ə* di'bi' wi'yu'təg, di'bi' *wowə'ton* wəŋg. *Jesus Christ*, *wənap'u*, mi'zə' *wəhə'gə* wa'dji' *wa'mi* ski'dəmbak də'bi' bi'yo'k *má'ndunag*, *te'a'ntamad*.

*April 21.*—*waba'yu*, *mə'ntci* *gwi'ksumo*.

*April 22.*—*t'ka'yo* *yugi'sk*, *gi'zack* wi'go. *nəka'd'əkum* *nəga'wi*.

*April 23.*—*gi'zack* wi'go, *ba'd'ənta* wi'mo. *məd* də'bi' *nəskəm* dja'gwan. *kə'dji* *bə'skwa*, *te'a'ntci* *nə* mi'dji' *nə* di'nai.<sup>32</sup> *te'a'ntci* *nə* i'wə' *dəbatni*<sup>33</sup> *nəmi'tewəŋg* su'mi' *má'ndu* *nəmi'z* *wa'mi* dja'gwanc *wa'djinə* yun *yuba'mkugiəg* *te'a'ntci* *nə* *məmi'ki'də*. *nəmo'wi* *sənsmo*<sup>34</sup> *yugi'sk* *Mohegan*.

<sup>26</sup> This term denotes, in Mohegan folk-lore, the dwarfs of the mythological realm. Mrs. Fielding felt herself to be in very close touch with these beings and she related several tales concerning them, which I caused to be printed some years ago in *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, ref. i.

<sup>28</sup> In order to eliminate some of the tedious repetitions which crowd these pages, I have taken the liberty of omitting some lines of this sermon which are copied from a former one.

<sup>29</sup> The Mohegan affirmatives were *nai* and *nək* or *nəks*.

<sup>32</sup> One of the many English loan words acquired by Mohegan-Pequot in its increasing contact with the Yankee world.

<sup>33</sup> This is literally "sufficient is that," meaning "thank you"; the common response at Mohegan. Natick shows *kuttəbətə'mish*, "I thank you," and Narragansett, *taubotni*. (Cf. Natick Dictionary, p. 332.)

<sup>34</sup> The use of this term for the church, "meeting," is interesting. The only cognate traceable, it seems, is Massachusetts (Natick) *sohsumoo*, "it shines forth," *sohsu'mo'onk* "glory," in Eliot's translation of the Bible (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, p. 266). The resemblance here in an evangelical sense between "glory" and the "meetings" of converts is not so far-fetched as it may seem at first.

*June 18.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I do not have much only I say "Thank you for that, *Ma'ndu*." *Ma'ndu* hears it then shall I have my dinner. I do not know what of all [things] I should do, [if] *Ma'ndu* never helped me.

*June 19.*—I can say *Ma'ndu* is good. *Ma'ndu* knows [that] never anyone helps me. I have not anyone. Every person helps himself, is not going to help anyone [else]. I am dreadfully sorry for those people and youths and little ones there [on the] steamboat. All fire. Poor [creatures] all! No one could help them. They ought [to have] turned back then gotten off from the boat.<sup>27</sup>

*June 20.*—In heaven there [does] not come anything not good because *Ma'ndu* can not accept it, that is why [there] came *Ma'ndu's* son here on earth . . . so that you can stay in heaven. You must be sorry for all things you do, being evil<sup>30</sup> and [so] must one never love it.<sup>31</sup> *Ma'ndu* does not wish [that] people shall call for *di'bi*. *Ma'ndu* wishes [that] all people shall come to him staying in heaven. *di'bi* is running about so that he can catch people. *di'bi* thinks this earth is his own, people, too. It is gone, yes! Only for [that] *Jesus Christ* came, he can not do anything. Jesus Christ will put *di'bi* from heaven because he falsified and wants Jesus Christ's place. Here can not *di'bi* enter into heaven. Jesus Christ will put *di'bi* in the fire, as *di'bi* knows too. Jesus Christ, he died, gave himself so that all people can come to heaven, wishing to.

*April 21.*—Windy, it goes by whistling.

*April 22.*—Cold to-day. The sun is good. I am sleepy, I go to sleep.

*April 23.*—The sun is good, rising clear. I can not find anything. Already noon, I must eat my dinner. I must say "Thank you" [for] my food because *Ma'ndu* gives me all things [I] have here on earth. I must be strong. I went to meeting to-day at Mohegan.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>27</sup> She refers to the catastrophe of the excursion steamer General Slocum in which a host of women and children passengers were burned to death in the East River, N. Y. The diarist has an entry "New York" on the margin which fixes this reference.

<sup>30</sup> Literally "not being good."

<sup>31</sup> Insert "evil."

<sup>36</sup> A Congregational Church was built in 1831 on the crown of Mohegan Hill, in the heart of the old Indian community. It still stands in a most impressive spot overlooking the country in all directions, commanding a view of Long Island Sound, the eminence known as Lantern Hill in the old Pequot territory due east, and northwest to the Taconnic Hills; all familiar landmarks in Mohegan history. The "meeting" is still the social bond that keeps the Mohegan remnant united.

*April 26.*—ma'ndu wi'go. nana'ma α'ngatag gi'zack, wotai'na-mæŋg.

*April 27.*—ma'ndu wi'go. nana'ma α'ngatag gi'zack. wa'mi ski'dambak ma'tei i'wə'k mæd ə'wan ai dja'gwane wi'gænud, wa'mi ma'tei. ma'ndu i'wə' nai<sup>35</sup> wuskwi'gæg. ə'wa'n da'bi ə'ki'dəzu əndai' mæs wowə'tə dja'gwan aiwad ma'ndu i'wad.

*April 28.*—zu'gayun, waba'yu wəyα'ngwote. zu'gayun wi'yango də' yugi'sk ba'ki mæd su'mi nα taia'tam su'mi wata'gapα mæd nəwi'ktamən.

*April 29.*—zu'gayun, su'mi mata'wi ma'ndu wi'go su'mi nana'ma α'ngatag gi'zakæd.

*May 1.*—wi'go yu yumbo'wi. na'wa gi'zack. ma'ndu wi'go wo'tei ni.

*May 2.*—ma'ndu wi'go su'mi wotai'namæŋg wa'dji gata'mki yun. kəd'ji bə'skwa, ma nα mi'dji nədi'nai. dab'atni' mi'teu-waŋg. tei'wi də'pku yudə'pkæg. gi'zakæd djakwi'mo, su'mi mæd da'bi ə'wa'n ni'gən'i'. teə'ntei gu'p'ə.

*May 3.*—ma'ndu wi'go, womi'zəm nəya'cəwaŋg də' mi'ki-gwaŋg.

*May 4.*—nα na'ma α'ngatag gi'zack. ma'ndu wi'go su'mi wa'mi dja'gwane bi'yə'k wo'tei na'gam. na'gam wo'tə'hi'c wa'mi wowusto'n'æc. ma'ndu gə'nk'tei, wosi'wa'təm wo'tei ski'dambak su'mi mæd wi'ktamæg wi'gæne dja'gwane, wa'dji mæs bi'yə'k na'gam a'b'əd ma'ndunag. ba'ki yə'tamæg di'bi da'bi tai'namowa ə'wa'n. mæd da'bi wotai'namowa wohə'g. di'bi ma'tei, woteə'ntəm wa'mi ski'dambak ma'tei. ai'wag waŋg.

*May 5.*—ma'ndu wi'go su'mi nα wa'djanam nα mi'ki'gwaŋg wo'tei na'gam, ma'ndu.

*May 6.*—wi'go gi'zack, ba'danta wi'mo.

*May 7.*—gi'zack mæd də'bi na'wa. ma'ndu wi'go ba'danta nata'æg. ma'ndu ə'p'u wa'mi ba'mkugi'æg. ba'ki mæs natə'ntəm ma'ndu natai'namæŋg, mæd əmə'moyan, mæs nα nat'adamo'wa ma'ndu.

*May 8.*—naga'wi wa'yæŋgwote. ma'ndu wi'go su'mi dja'gwan mæd nəkwə'wi'haig. sə'ntə yugi'sk. wi'yut napo'nəm *pasture*.<sup>39</sup>

*May 9.*—zu'gayun yu yumbo'wi, zu'gayun. ma'ndu wi'go su'mi wowə'tə gi'au'cə nə'p'i wa'dji tə'd'əsæg mæs ba'mbi'yə'k də'kə katə'c wa'dji gi'tasæg mæs womi'djuwag katə'c wa'dji mæd nəpəyə'ntamæg. ni'wadji ski'dambak teə'ntei wi'ktamæg ma'ndu, su'mi ma'ndu wo'tə wa'mi dja'gwane, da'bi i' wa'mi dja'gwane i'næc yugi'sk də' zab, də' mi'ki'gwaŋg i't'kwan ə' yuba'mkæg wowu'ston. teə'ntei wo'tə gə'ŋk'tei mata'wi aiki'kuzu.

<sup>38</sup> The colloquial affirmative has three forms, *nai*, *nək*, and *nəks*. Narragansett *nuk*, Natick *nuz*. (Cf. Natick Dictionary, p. 347.)

<sup>39</sup> She spells this "paster."

*April 26.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I see another sun, he helps me.

*April 27.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I see another sun. All people [who are] bad say no one is whatsoever good, all [are] bad. *Ma'ndu* says yes in his book. Anyone can read, then will he know everything is as *Ma'ndu* says.

*April 28.*—Rain, windy last evening. Rain yesterday and to-day, maybe not because I think so, as when it is wet I do not like it.

*April 29.*—Rain, because exceedingly *Ma'ndu* is good as I see another day.

*May 1.*—It is good here early in the morning. I see the sun. *Ma'ndu* is good to me.

*May 2.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because he helps me so that [I] get up now. Already noon, I have eaten my dinner. Thank you [for] food.<sup>37</sup> Almost night. To-night. The day has hurried away, since can not anyone get ahead [of it]. He must close up.<sup>38</sup>

*May 3.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, he gives me my breath and strength.

*May 4.*—I see another sun. *Ma'ndu* is good because all things come from him. He his own them all has made. *Ma'ndu* is very great, he is sorry for people because they do not love good things, so that they may come [where] he is staying in heaven. Perhaps they think *di'bi* can help anyone. He can not help himself. *Di'bi* is evil, he wants all people [to be] bad. They are, too!

*May 5.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because I have my strength from him, *Ma'ndu*.

*May 6.*—It is a good sun, rising clear.

*May 7.*—The sun I can not see. *Ma'ndu* is good, rising in my heart. *Ma'ndu* dwells in all the world. Perhaps I need *Ma'ndu*, my help when I feel badly, will I call for *Ma'ndu*.

*May 8.*—I slept last evening. *Ma'ndu* is good because I do not fear anything. Sunday to-day. I put fire [in the] pasture.<sup>40</sup>

*May 9.*—Rain here early in the morning, rain. *Ma'ndu* is good because he knows we need water so that potatoes will come [up] and hay, so that creatures<sup>41</sup> will eat hay, so that they will not die of hunger. That is why people must love *Ma'ndu*, because *Ma'ndu* knows all things, can do all things to-day and to-morrow, and his strength is so great [that] this earth he created. [You] must [know how] very great is his work.

<sup>37</sup> Literally "Sufficient is that food."

<sup>38</sup> The meaning here is based upon inference. I can correlate *gup* only with *gu'pkwad*, "cloudy, closed day," Massachusetts, (Natick) *kuppi*, closed.

<sup>40</sup> The meaning is "I burned over the pasture."

<sup>41</sup> "Cattle" are the creatures referred to.

*May 10.*—*tei'wi' da'pku, ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' mad dja'gwan bi'ya'mo wa'dji' mas nawi'zi'gwan. tca'ntei' ma'ndu natai'namang, mad da'bi' natai'namowa nahag. ma'ndu ga'ŋk'tei', mad da'bi' o'wa'n ya't'am oi gaŋk'tei' ma'ndu.*

*May 11.*—*ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' oca'mi' nada'bi' tai'namowa nahag. ma'ndu natai'namang.*

*May 12.*—*ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' nami'zam da'bi' naga'wi' do' womi'zi' mi'ki'gwan wa'dji' nada'bi' gata'mki' yu yumbo'wi'*

*May 13.*—*ma'ndu wi'go. da'bi' nana'mo gi'zack yu yumbo'wi'. da'pkag. ma'ndu oca'mi' wi'go.*

*May 14.*—*yumbo'wi' gu'pkwad. wi'mo. ma'ndu wi'go. nayu'ndjanan naski'zaks, da'bi' nana'ma wa'mi' dja'gwane yu'dai. ba'skwa. ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' wa'mi' dja'gwane wi'gane.*

*May 15.*—*gu'pkwad, ma'ndu wi'go.*

*May 16.*—*ma'ndu wi'go, ni'da'bi' gata'mki' wot'ei' nabi'd<sup>42</sup> do' nawa'djanam mi'ki'gwan wa'dji' natai'namowa nahag oca'mi'.*

*May 17.*—*ma'ndu wi'go oca'mi' da'bi' naya'ca' wa'mi' dja'gwane bi.ya'mac wo'tei' na'gam ma'ndu. ma'ndu wi'go yu nawo'ton nata'ag.*

*May 19.*—*ma'ndu wi'go, nawambunsi'an, womi'zam nami'ki'gwan wa'dji' da'bi' nagata'mki. gu'pkwad, ba'ki' mas zu'gayun, ni'wa'dji. dji'tasag<sup>43</sup> wa'djanak dja'gwane da'bi' mi'tcuwag. ma'ndu wi'go tei'wi. da'pku.*

*May 20.*—*ma'ndu wi'go, oca'mi' da'bi' nagata'mki' wot'ei' nabi'dag.*

*May 21.*—*ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' natai'namang wa'mi dja'gwane wa'dji' da'bi' nawa'djana dja'gwane nagau'hig mad nada'bi' wu'sto' dja'gwan.*

*May 22.*—*gi'zack ba'danta wi'mo yumbo'wi' ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' naga'wi' wa'yangwate, wi'gan.*

*May 23.*—*ma'ndu wi'go. n'ana'wa a'ngatag gi'zack. kadji' ba'skwa zai'yangwad o'wa'n mad wadjinad o'wa'n. ka'dji' da'pku, wa'mi' dja'wane mas ga'wiwag ka'dji' da'pkud.*

*May 24.*—*ma'ndu wi'go oca'mi' nada'bi' na'wa wa'mi' dja'gwane.*

*May 25.*—*wi'go gi'zack ba'danta wi'mo. ma'ndu wi'go tai'namowa wa'mi' ski'dambak wa'ndjag ma'tei' ai'wag do' wi'go ai'wag.*

*May 26.*—*ka'dji' ba'skwa. gi'zack gasu'bata. ka'dji' da'pku, namo'wi' na'wa mad'am'a'mo wi'nai.*

*May 27.*—*ka'dji' gi'zack bi'yo'mo. ma'ndu wi'go, oca'mi' nada'bi' na'wa dja'gwane yuba'mkugiag su'mi' ma'ndu nami'zi'am nami'ki'gwan.*

<sup>42</sup> Another English loan word for a loan object, *bi'd*=bed.

<sup>43</sup> This is illegible in part, either *dji'tasag* or *gi'tasag*, "beasts," in either case, Mrs. Fielding called them "dumb animals."

*May 10.*—Almost night, *Ma'ndu* is good because nothing comes that will hurt me. He must be, *Ma'ndu* my help, I can not help myself. *Ma'ndu* is great, no one can conceive how great *Ma'ndu* is.

*May 11.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because so much I can help myself. *Ma'ndu* is my help.

*May 12.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because he gives me my sleep and he gives strength so that I can get up here early in the morning.

*May 13.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I can see the sun here early. It is night. *Ma'ndu* is so very good.

*May 14.*—Early in the morning cloudy. Clearing. *Ma'ndu* is good. I open my eyes, I can see all things hereabouts. Noon. *Ma'ndu* is good because all things are good.

*May 15.*—Cloudy. *Ma'ndu* is good.

*May 16.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I can get up from my bed and I have strength so that I can help myself sufficiently.

*May 17.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, so well can I breathe. All things come from him, *Ma'ndu*. *Ma'ndu* is good, this I know in my heart.

*May 19.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, as I live until morning. He gives my strength so that I can get up. Cloudy, perhaps it will rain, therefore creatures [will] have something [they] can eat. *Ma'ndu* is good. Almost night.

*May 20.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, so well can I get up from my bed.

*May 21.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because he is my help in all things so that I can have things I want [for] I can not make anything.

*May 22.*—Sun rising clear early in the morning. *Ma'ndu* is good because I slept last evening, it is good.

*May 23.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I see another sun. Already noon. Very cold [for] anyone not having someone. Already night, all things will fall asleep now that it is night.

*May 24.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, so well can I see all things.

*May 25.*—It is a good sun rising clear. *Ma'ndu* is good. He helps all people those who are evil and those who are good.

*May 26.*—Already noon, the sun is hot. Already night. I went to see the sick old woman.

*May 27.*—Already the sun has come. *Ma'ndu* is good, so well I can see things on earth because *Ma'ndu* gives me my strength.



*May 28.*—*má'ndu wi'go, nága'wi wa'yángxwotc. náda'bi gata'mki ná mo'wi sa'má*<sup>44</sup> *ná'hag, zic gau'can tea'g'ancag*<sup>45</sup> *nami'dji bo'din*<sup>46</sup> *da'ká mi'an, ni'ya'yo.*

*May 29.*—*gi'zack ba'danta wi'mo, kadji' bá'skwa, nami'dj nádi'nai dja'nau wa'dji' náya'ndam. ó'wa'n ya'ndamad mad wi'ya'-mamo, ó'wa'n mad wi'ya'mamod mad da'bi aiki'kazu, ó'wa'n mad da'bi aiki'kazud tea'ntei wa'mó'wan wotai'námowa wa'dji wa'djana dja'gwan mi'djud, sumi' ba'ki' mas napaya'ntam su'mi' mad da'bi ná'ncadon. ni'ya'yo, andai' má'ndu mas ná'wa wa'ndjag ski'dambak wotai'námowa wang. ni'ya'yo.*

*May 30.*—*gi'zack ba'danta, andai' gu'pkwad. má'ndu wi'go, wa'mi' dja'gwanc wi'ganc. djanau' ski'dambak mad wa'mi' wi'gowag, ni'ya'yo. ba'kimad tea'ntam dja'gwan wi'gan wo'tei má'ndu, su'mi' madda'bi wustók má'ni'es.*

*June 1.*—*má'ndu wi'go da'bi nágata'mki' wo'tei nabi'dag zu'gayun. Mr. Speck bi'yo' yudai' yugi'sk. má'ndu wi'go oca'mi' wotai'námang. zu'gayun t'ka'yu ya'yo.*

*June 2.*—*má'ndu wi'go su'mi' ni' da'bi' wa'djana náya't'amwang, ni'ya'yo.*

*June 3.*—*gu'pkwad. má'ndu wi'go, su'mi' ni' da'bi' tai'námowa náha'g. má'ndu nami'zam nami'ki'gwang. nána'wa skug dodai' zi'bag wa'djana pi'amag wo'tag. mad náwa'djana mitu'g wa'dji' nata'g'am. tea'ntei nata'g'am wa'dji' bi'ki'dam pi'amag, natai'nam náwigi'ta'g'am. mad da'bi' kwa'ma ó'wa'n a'mi' wa'djana pi'amag wo'tag.*

*June 4.*—*má'ndu wi'go, mad dja'gwan nákwowi'hai'g dá'pkag, náwa'djana mi'ki'gwang wa'dji' nágata'mki', wa'mi' dja'gwanc bi'yo'mo wo'tei má'ndu.*

*June 5.*—*má'ndu wi'go, mad wi'ya'mo dja'gwan bi'yo'mo yudai' nákwowi'hai'g. ká'dji' bá'skwa. oca'mi' da'bi' ná'wa má'ndu wi'go, wotai'námang su'mi' nágau'hi'ya.*

*June 6.*—*má'ndu wi'go, nága'wi, nágata'mki' mi'te zi'ckanas. náti'c la'ndin.*

*June 7.*—*má'ndu mata'wi' wi'go, natai'námang. náwa'djana wa'mi' dja'gwanc wo'tei má'ndu ni'ya'yo má'ntei.*

*June 8.*—*má'ndu wi'go su'mi' wa'mi' dja'gwanc ya'yue oi' wi'yángo gu'pkwad má'ndu wi'go. wi'moni'yayo. náta' i'wo'ni.*

*June 9.*—*gu'pkwad, wi'gan, tei'wi' dá'pku. má'ndu womi'zam námi'teuwang da'bi' nága'wi' dá'pkute, su'mi' náwo'to' má'ndu á'pu yudai'. má'ndu mi'ki'go dá' wa'mi' wo'ton.*

<sup>44</sup> A word of doubtful meaning, possibly cognate with Natick *assaman* he feeds him, Narr. *assa'mone* give me to eat. (Trumbull, Natick Diet., p. 16.)

<sup>45</sup> English loan-word, "chickens" with animate plural suffix.

<sup>46</sup> Another loan-word from the English.

*May 28.*—*Ma'ndu* is good, I slept last evening. I can get up. I went [and] fed myself, milked the cow [and tended the] chickens. I eat pudding and berries. That is so.

*May 29.*—The sun rises clear. Already noon, I eat my dinner as I am hungry. Whoever is hungry does not feel very well, whoever is not feeling well can not work, whoever can not be working, him must everyone help so that he [may] have something to eat, because maybe he will die of hunger since he can not go and get it. That is so! Then *Ma'ndu* will see those people [and] help them, too. That is so.

*May 30.*—The sun rises, then it is cloudy. *Ma'ndu* is good, all things are good. Only people [are] not all good. That is so! Perhaps they do not want anything good from *Ma'ndu*, because they can not make money.

*June 1.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I can get up from my bed. Rain. Mr. Speck came here to-day. *Ma'ndu* is good so much he helps me. Rain, cold, it is so!

*June 2.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because I can have my thought, that is so!

*June 3.*—Cloudy day. *Ma'ndu* is good because I can help myself. *Ma'ndu* gives me my strength. I saw a snake near the river, he had a fish in his mouth. I did not have a stick so that I could hit him. I ought to hit him so that he would give up the fish. I would help. I would like to hit him. He can not bite anyone because he has a fish in his mouth.

*June 4.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. Nothing I fear at night. I have strength so that I get up, everything comes from *Ma'ndu*.

*June 5.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. He does not let anything come here that I fear. Already noon. Truly can I say *Ma'ndu* is good, he helps me because I need him.

*June 6.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I slept, I got up, [and] ate milk. I went to Landing.

*June 7.*—*Ma'ndu* is very good, my help. I have everything from *Ma'ndu*. That is so! Gone.

*June 8.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because all things are so. Yesterday cloudy. *Ma'ndu* is good. True it is! My heart says that.

*June 9.*—Cloudy, it is good, almost night. *Ma'ndu* gives my strength so I can sleep nights, because I know *Ma'ndu* dwells here. *Ma'ndu* is strong and all-knowing.

June 10.—Ma'ndu wi'go, mæd da'bi' nœai dja'gwan, mæ'ndu mæs tai'nāmang.

June 11.—ma'ndu wi'go. nawa'djana mi'ki'gwang wa'dji da'bi' nawu'sto' nœmi'teuwang, nœda'bi' mi'teu yu'n'damyun. te'a'ntei' o'wa'n ya'ndam andai' mi'teu, ni'ya'yo, skam'od na'd'a<sup>47</sup> dja'gwan.

June 12.—ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' ni' dabi' ga'wi', andai' da'bi' nagatamki yumbo'wi' nœmi'teu andai' angatag dja'gwane nœai'.

June 13.—gu'pkwad, t'ka'yo, mæ'ndu wi'go, mæd dja'gwan nakwo'wi' haig, wa'yangwote nœga'wi, ni' ya'yo.

June 15.—gi'zack ba'danta wi'mo yumbo'wi' nawa'd'a'nœm wo'tei' zi'bag.

June 17.—ma'ndu wi'go. nœga'wi' wa'yangwote. nœti'c basag-wanana'ntaksag,<sup>48</sup> mæd dja'gwan.

June 19.—gi'zack wi'go, ba'danta wi'mo. mæ'ndu wi'go oœa'mi' nœda'bi' gata'mki. da'bat ni' mæ'ndu.

June 21.—wi'go gi'zack ba'dan'ta. mæ'ndu wi'go womi'zo' gi'sk da'pku bi'yo'mo. wa'mi' dja'gwane bi'yo'mœ oi wu'stod mæ'ndu.

June 23.—gi'zack wi'ganta yumbo'wi'. mæ'ndu wi'go. nœna'm œ'ngatag gi'sk, nœda'bi' gata'mki mi'teu. nœti'œ' road wi'yanggo.

June 24.—gi'zack ba'danta. mæ'ndu wi'go. na wa'djana mi'ki'gwang wa'dji nagata'mki wo'tei' bi'dœg. ni'ya'yo.

May 6.—Ni' sun dodai' *witches*<sup>50</sup> bi't'œ'wag mæd a'p'u ni'dai'. ba'ki' woki'nœmnau<sup>51</sup> di'bi'kœ'nagag.<sup>52</sup> mæd da'bi' *witches* a'puwag mæ'ndunœg. nœtaiya'tœm ba'ki' woki'nœmnau œ'i't'kwan<sup>53</sup> da'bi' wa'mi' *witches* gœsa'gwiwag. ni' sun djakwi'n.<sup>54</sup> mæs gœto'wi' wu'sto'k wi'yut wa'gi' wu'sto'k dja'gwan mi'djuwag. ba'ki' tœ'gœni'g dœ' dji'es<sup>55</sup> mæs mi'djuwag. ba'ki' t'ka'yu, andai' mæs gau'hik'wag wi'yu't wa'gi'<sup>56</sup> djœs'u'm wowi'dji'es. andai' mæs wodjat'œato'n'au

<sup>47</sup> This is the only time this word appears and I have no translation for it. Its resemblance to St. Francis Abenaki *nada'wiwi* "scarcely, rarely" (*-wiwi* adverbial termination), induces me to consider it a possible cognate.

<sup>48</sup> This is Muddy Cove, on the Thames near Gale's Ferry. Mrs. Fielding often walked there for her mail and provisions. The locality was a favorite of hers. Its name is from *basag* "mud."

<sup>50</sup> Mrs. Fielding might have used the Mohegan word *mo'gu* had she wished. This interesting word is evidently related to Delaware (Munsee) *malliku*, "sorcerer."

<sup>51</sup> The subject of this verb is an impersonal plural, though the singular pronoun is used.

<sup>52</sup> *di'bi* is probably a corruption of English "devil."

<sup>53</sup> A word whose analysis is very perplexing.

<sup>54</sup> This term refers to the old Indian huts of colonial times, many cellars of which are still to be discerned among the hills of Mohegan. The analysis of the word is quite impossible from existing sources, nor do Professor Prince's strenuous guesses (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 6, 1904, pp. 29-30) help us very much. He thinks it might be derived from the root in *chokquog* (Natick) "Englishman," literally "knife man." It might just as likely have come from Mohegan-Pequot, *djakwi'mo* "it is hurried," and mean "hasty house." It may, however, mean "bark-house" and compare with Delaware *yo'ka'wan*, "bark-house."

<sup>55</sup> Moheganized "cheese" is interesting phonetically because it shows conformation of loan words to native phonology in final surds, -cs.

<sup>56</sup> The consonant of this preposition has two variants, *g* and *dj* (*wa'gi'*, *wadji'*). A similar case, *ka'gi'*, *ka'dji'*, leads Professor Prince to think that some dialect forms are merged in Mohegan. This is not at all unlikely judging from what we have already shown of the composite nature of the tribe's population.

*June 10.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I can not be anything [yet]. *Ma'ndu* will help me.

*June 11.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I have strength so that I can make my food, I can eat when hungry. One must be hungry then eat, that is so, finding scarcely anything.

*June 12.*—*Ma'ndu* is good because I can sleep, then can I get up early in the morning I eat, then another being <sup>49</sup> am I.

*June 13.*—Cloudy, cold, *Ma'ndu* is good. Nothing I feared, last night I slept. That is so!

*June 15.*—Sun rising clear early in the morning I got [something] from the river.

*June 17.*—*Ma'ndu* is good. I slept last evening. I went to Muddy Cove, nothing [there].

*June 19.*—The sun is good, rising clear. *Ma'ndu* is good, so well can I get up. Thank you *Ma'ndu*.

*June 21.*—Good sun rising. *Ma'ndu* is good he gives it [that] day [and] night come. All things come as being made by *Ma'ndu*.

*June 23.*—The sun is good early in the morning. *Ma'ndu* is good. I see another day, I can get up [and] eat. I went by the road yesterday.

*June 24.*—Sun is rising. *Ma'ndu* is good, I have strength so that I get up from the bed. That is so!

*May 6.*—That stone <sup>58</sup> where the witches came does not rest there [now]. Maybe [they] took it to hell. Witches can not stay in heaven. I think maybe he took it; it is so big all the witches can go inside it. That stone [was] a house. [They] will be going to make a fire so that they make something to eat. Perhaps bread and cheese will they eat. Perhaps it is cold, then will they want a fire to warm their hands. Then will they divide <sup>59</sup> their money, that they

<sup>49</sup> Sic! Yet what she really says is "things!"

<sup>58</sup> The narrator here refers to a Mohegan folk-tale which she narrated to me some years ago and which I published as a text (American Anthropologist, vol. 6, No. 4, 1904). The stone referred to was a glacial boulder about as large as an ordinary small house, located formerly not far from the main road at Quaker Hill, near Uncasville, Conn. It was blasted away over 20 years ago, not taken away by "the witches," as Mrs. Fielding would beguile us into believing. The theme of the tale is rather common in Algonkian lore. One stormy night a weary Indian woman was deceived by "the witehes" and lured into the boulder as into a house, fed and warmed by a fire. But upon awakening in the morning the poor creature found herself lying cold and exposed beside the boulder, her warm goblin's pallet and fire vanished, and her victuals converted into fraud. A tempting opportunity for sermonizing and for voicing the same old plaint of the Indian's undeserved poverty not overlooked by Mrs. Fielding.

<sup>59</sup> Literally "halve," see *dja't'ci* on page following.

wa mæ'ni'es<sup>57</sup> kɑ'dji' da'bi' gæmu'duwag. ɑndai' ski'dæmbak yɑ'tæmæg wa'ndjæg ski'dæmbak wi'guwag su'mi' wa'djin'ok mæ'ni'es, ba'ki' wa'djuwag mi'di'nhaus<sup>60</sup> su'mi' wa'djæno'k mæ'ni'es. tæɑ'-mæŋksæg i'ntæɑn.<sup>61</sup> mæd wa'djæno' mæ'ni'es mæd wa'djæno' dja'gwan su'mi' mæd da'bi' gæmu'du tai'andæksku.

May 23.—Næ wudjai' Mohi'ks.<sup>63</sup> ni' mæd Pi'kut.<sup>64</sup> ɔ'wa'n i'wad ni' Pi'kut wotaiændæ'ksku, yɑ'yoni' wa'næksæg yɑ'tæmæg wot'ɔ' wa'mi' dja'gwane. dja't'ci' i'wad mæd yɑ'yuc.<sup>65</sup> tæɑ'mæŋksæg wa'næksæg. mætɑ'wi'wag gau'hikwag wa'mi' yu bia'mkugi' mæd da'bi' æŋgætæg ɔ'wa'n wa'djæɑ dja'gwan mi'tsud(i'), su'mi' wa'næksæg gau'hikwag mæ'ni'es. mæd'a'bi' woki'næmnau næp'u'd. tæɑ'ntci' næp'u'wag wa'tci'ɑ mæd wowo'ton' ba'ki' mæd gætɔ'wi' wo'ton. wa'ndjæg ski'dæmbak mætɑ'wi'wag wi'go ski'dæmb mæd mætɑ'wi'wag. næteka'wad mæd da'bi' gæskɑ'm'æn wa'ndjæg ski'dæmbak da'bi' tai'næmo'wa ɔ'wan, mæd'o'm wotai'næmo'wa su'mi' sæŋkwati'd'i'yak, dja'nau. næsi'wa'tæm wo'tci' wa'ndjæg ski'dæmbak su'mi' mæd ni'ni'kɑ'd'ɑ da'bi' tai'næmændæm. ba'ki' mæs nægæm wæŋg. næt'ɑ'dæmowæ ba'ki' wɔ'tɔ', ba'ki' mæd. ni' mæd da'bi' i'wɔ' dja'gwan.

May 30.—dji'tsæg. næwi'gi'no'wæ<sup>66</sup> dji'tsæg, su'mi' wi'kteu. mæd i'wag dja'gwan mæ'tce. mi'djuwag yuc mæ'ndu mi'zɔ', ɑndai' gætɔ'mæk, su'mi' mæd gau'hikwag dja'gwan, wa'mi' dja'gwane mæ'ndu mi'zɔ', ni' yɑ'yu, wa'mi' dja'gwane. Wi'yæŋgu nænɑ'wæ zi'bugæg skug wa'djæɑ pi'ɔ'mæg wowu'tæg. nætægæm ɑndai' bɑ'ki'dæm pi'ɔ'mæg, pi'ɔ'mæg wi'kteu. skug mætæd'i'a'zu, gæskɑ'mæg wæŋg. pi'ɔ'mæg wi'kteu, næwi'zai'g skug, skug dji'bai.

Mæ'ndu wi'go su'mi' wo'tɔ' wa'mi' dja'gwane. ski'dæmb mæd wo'tɔ' dja'nau kætæteci' oi' woto'd mæ'ndu, mæ'ndu gæ'ntci., mætɑ'wi' wi'go, tæɑ'ntci' gi'yau' wi'go wæŋg. ɑndai' mæs næp'u'yun, mæs gædæp'u' mæ'ndunag, ni' i'wɔ' mæ'ndu. tæɑ'ntci' mæd gæso'sæn'i, so'sæn'i'æn tæɑ'ntci' gænat'æd'æmo'wæ mæ'ndu, ɑndai' mæs gæ mi'tes mi'ki'gwæŋg, ɑndai' mæs gæmomi'kidæ su'mi' mæ'ndu gætai'næmæŋg, mæ'ndu teu'yæ wa'ndjæg ski'dæmbak mæ'ndunag, ni'dai mæd bi'yamo dja'gwan mæd wi'gænc,<sup>69</sup> su'mi' mæ'ndu mæd da'bi'

<sup>57</sup> Another English loan word, showing similar handling to *dji'cs* above, comes from the plural "moneys," inanimate plural or diminutive, as Wabenaki *mæ'ni's*. The diminutive here denotes endearment.

<sup>60</sup> A corruption of "meeting-house," church, to own which seemed in her mind to be a sign of worldly success natural in a country community.

<sup>61</sup> Another Mohegan corruption, from vernacular "Injun."

<sup>63</sup> Note the correct proper name in use by the Mohegan, which has been previously discussed in the introduction.

<sup>64</sup> Here also is another native form of the Pequot tribal designation. Mrs. Fielding's plural form was *Pi'kutæg*. Having now the correct native form we only lack its translation.

<sup>65</sup> An interesting reminder of the third person inanimate plural, -c, which is a distinctive mark of this group of dialects.

<sup>66</sup> The narrator throughout uses the singular objective pronoun referring to a plural object.

<sup>69</sup> Note the sudden insertion of the inanimate plural (-c) which ordinarily should agree with the preceding singular noun *tæ'gwan* "anything."

could steal. Then the people think these people are good because they have money, maybe they have [even] a meeting-house [belong to a church] because they have money. Poor Indian! He has not money, he has not anything because he can not steal [or] lie!<sup>62</sup>

*May 23.*—I am from Mohegan! I am not Pequot! Anyone saying I am Pequot he is a continual liar, that is so! White men think [they] know all things. Half [the things they are] saying not are so. Poor white men. Many want all this earth. It can not be for another person [to] have anything to eat, because white men want the money. They can not carry it [with them] when they die. They must die when they don't know. Maybe [they are] not going to know. These people are many. Good man is not frequent. Looking [for him, you] can not find him. These people can help someone, but don't help anyone because they are stingy, only! I am sorry for these people because not ever can they help it. Maybe will they [be sorry] too! Ask him, maybe he knows, maybe not. I can not say anything.

*May 30.*—Birds. I love to see the birds, because [they are] pretty. They do not say anything evil. They eat these things *Ma'ndu*<sup>67</sup> gives, then they sing, because they do not want for anything. All things *Ma'ndu* gives [them], that is so. All things! Yesterday I saw in the river a snake; he had a fish in his mouth. I hit him, then he gave up the fish. The fish is handsome. The snake is horrid, he bites you, too. The fish is handsome. I am afraid of the snake, snake is a spirit.<sup>68</sup>

*Ma'ndu* is good because he knows all things. Man does not know altogether but a little. So it is knowing *Ma'ndu*. *Ma'ndu* is great, very good, must you and I be good, too. Then when you will die, you will stay in heaven, so says *Ma'ndu*. You must not get tired, if you get tired you must ask for *Ma'ndu*, then will you get strength, then will you grow strong because *Ma'ndu* helps you. *Ma'ndu* wishes these people in heaven. Thither does not come anything not good, because *Ma'ndu* can not take money. That is why he came here on

<sup>62</sup> This remarkable composition is not one of Mrs. Fielding's best from an intellectual standpoint, though it exhibits well her seathing contempt for those who had more than she did.

<sup>67</sup> Mrs. Fielding of course designates God by this widespread Algonkian proper name. However, being unable to define her concept of the deity, as if she could even do it herself, I adhere to the original name in the English translation, preferring to permit the reader to reach his own conclusion as to the content of her mind.

<sup>68</sup> Snakes figure in Mohegan weather and witch lore as supernatural agents.

ka'n'am ma'ni' ni' wa'dji' bi'ya yudai' bi'a'mkugi<sup>70</sup> su'mi' ski'dambak tei'pæg'i' ma'tei' ai'wag. ga'ntei' wu'e mi'zo' na'gam ko'djaks wa'dji' mäd'u'm wa'mi' ski'dambak nap'u'wag. na'g'am *Jesus Christ* mäd ni'ni'ka'd'a ma'tei' ai. mi'zo' wohä'g wo'tei' ma'tei' ski'dambak. ma'ndu wokö'djaks wowi'zawang *Jesus Christ*. ma'tei' ski'dambak a'nea yudai' bi'a'mkugi'. womi'zo' wohä'g wo'tei' wa'mi' ski'dambak wa'ndjag gato'wi' i'cök ma'ndunag *Jesus Christ* bi'yund. *Jesus Christ* mas bi'yo' yu'mbowang, na'g'am i'wö' ni' na'ntcäda na'g'am woski'dambak. andai' mas a'puwag ni'dai ma'ndunag wotei'mi'. tea'ntei' nap'u', wa'mi' ski'dambak, mäd da'bi' o'wan wotai'namandam su'mi' ma'tei' ai'wag. ni' wa'dji' nap'u'wag, wo'tei' *Jesus Christ* bi'ya'mo wa'dji' da'bi' o'wan a'pu' ma'ndunag. tea'ntei' gasi'wa'tam wo'tei' wa'mi' gata' mäd wi'gan'ud, da'ka tea'ntei' o'wan mäd'u'm wi'ktaman. tea'ntei' ba'ki'dam wa'mi' dja'gwane mädwi'gan, su'mi' ma'ndu mäd wi'ktam dja'gwan mädwi'gane, tea'ntei' o'wan aioi, i'wö' ma'ndu, ma'ndu wuskwi'gag. tea'ntei' o'wan o'tei'daman, andai' mas wowo'ton wa'mi' dja'gwane, ma'ndu i'wad, ni' ya'yu. ma'ndji', mas bi'yamuc wang. tea'ntei' ganat'a'd'amowa, ma'ndu, mas gatai'namang wo'tei' *Jesus Christ*. ma'ndu mäd tea'ntam o'wan woto'n di'bi'kə'nag. teu'ya wa'mi' ski'dambak mas bi'yak ma'ndunag. ba'ci' ma'dum pa'd'am ma'ndu, i'wad ma'ndu, mäd da'bi' tai'namowa o'wan mäd'u'm pa'damad. tea'ntei' gapa'd'am, ma'ndu i'wad. ma'ndu gato'wi' gatai'namang. di'bi'<sup>71</sup> gwatcai'yu wa'dji' da'bi' ka'n'a wa'mi' ski'dambak.

di'bi' ya'tam yu bi'a'mkugi' na'gam wo'to', wa'mi' ski'dambak wang. ma'ntei', nai' ni' ya'yo. dja'nau wo'tei' *Jesus Christ* bi'yamo wa'dji' mäd da'bi' ai di'bi' dja'gwan. *Jesus Christ* po'na di'bi' wo'tei' ma'ndunag, su'mi' di'bi' tai'anda'ksku da'ka gau'hig *Jesus Christ* a'bad. yu mäd da'bi' di'bi' gasa'gwi' ma'ndunag. *Jesus Christ* gato'wi' po'na di'bi' wi'yu'tag. di'bi' wowoto'n wang. ni' wa'dji' di'bi' tei'mi' aiki'kuzu wa'dji' mas ka'n'a wa'mi' ski'dambak su'mi' wowo'ta mäd da'bi' a'pu' yudai' ba'mkugi. tei'mi' wogau'ha wa'mi' ski'dambak wi'djo'wak di'bi' wi'yu'tag. mäd da'bi' ga'dji'wag su'mi' ni' wi'yu't mäd o'wan da'bi' yunto'mun. ma'ndu wusto'n<sup>72</sup> wa'tei' di'bi' da'ka ma'tei' wi'ktamag ski'dambak.

*Jesus Christ* gau'ha wa'ndjag na'gam woto'hi'c womi'zo' wohä'g wo'tei' na'ndjag ski'dambak. dja'nau na'gamo mäd gau'hikwag ma'ndu ni' wa'dji' mäd da'bi' su'mi' na'gam ma'dum teu'ya ma'ndu tai'namowa. ma's si'wa'tam ka'dji' di'bi' ka'n'a.

<sup>70</sup> An interesting etymology, literally "walking-ground." The form varies to *ba'mktag* (*ba'm* (ca), ("to go walking").

<sup>71</sup> An Indianized form of "Devil." See *di'bi'kc'nag* "Devil's habitation," a few lines above.

<sup>72</sup> This verb is evidently related to Natick *ussē'na't*, "to do," or perhaps *kesteau* "to make perfect, create," also *kesteaunat* to finish, showing the third person inanimate object incorporated. Prof. Prince's uncertainty as to its recognition in 1903 (*Amer. Anth.*, vol. 5, p. 206) suggests this explanation.



earth because people are dreadfully bad. The great father gave his son so that not all people should die. He is Jesus Christ, not ever bad was he. He gave himself for bad people. *Ma'ndu's* son, his name Jesus Christ. Bad people killed him here on earth. He gave himself for all people. They are going to go to heaven [at] Jesus Christ's coming. Jesus Christ will come again. He says that. He comes for his people. Then will they stay there in heaven forever. Must die, all people, can not anyone help himself because evil they are. Therefore they die, for Jesus Christ came that anyone can abide in heaven. You must be sorry with all your heart not being good, and must everyone not love it. [You] must give up all things not good, because *Ma'ndu* does not love anything not good. Must everyone be likewise, says *Ma'ndu* in *Ma'ndu's* book. Must everyone crave it. Then will he know all things, *Ma'ndu's* saying, that is so! Gone away, he will come again. You must ask him for it, *Ma'ndu* will help you for Jesus Christ [sake]. *Ma'ndu* does not want anyone to go to hell. He wishes that all people will come to heaven. Part [of the people] never listen to *Ma'ndu*, says *Ma'ndu*, he can not help anyone never listening [to him]. You must listen to him, *Ma'ndu* says. *Ma'ndu* is going to help you. *Di'bi* is abroad so that he can catch all people.

*Di'bi* thinks this earth [is] his own,<sup>73</sup> all the people, too. Going that way! Yes, that is so! Only for that Jesus Christ came so that *Di'bi* can not be anything. Jesus Christ put down *Di'bi* from heaven, because *Di'bi* lied and wanted Jesus Christ's place. Now can not *Di'bi* get in heaven. Jesus Christ is going to put *Di'bi* in the fire. *Di'bi* knows it too. That is why *Di'bi* always is working so that he will catch all the people because he knows he can not stay here on earth. Always he wants that all people shall go with *Di'bi* in the fire. They can not get out because that fire not anyone can shut it up. *Ma'ndu* made it for *Di'bi* and people who love evil.

Jesus Christ wants these [to be] his own. He gave himself for those people. Only themselves,<sup>74</sup> they do not want *Ma'ndu*. That is why [one] can not [help himself] because he never seeks *Ma'ndu* [to] help him. He will be sorry that *Di'bi* catches him.

<sup>73</sup> Literally "him, his own."

<sup>74</sup> The confusion of singular and plural pronouns here makes it difficult to translate literally.

*June 19.*—*ga'ntci' wuc a'p'ud ma'ndunag. mata'wi' wi'go gawi'-*  
*zawang, gama'ndunag bi'ya'mo. oi' gi' i'wad, ni' i'wag yu ba'm-*  
*bugi'ag mo'wi oi' ma'ndunag, mi'zam yugi'sk ta'gani'g, oi' a'ngatag*  
*gi'sks. wusto' nata' wi'gan wa'dji' mad nawi'ktam dja'gwane*  
*ma'tei'e, su'mi' gama'ndunag, gami'ki'gwang mata'wi' wi'gan,*  
*wotci' mi'tei'mi.*

*November 1.*—*wi'go gi'zack. ma'ndu wi'go su'mi' nada'bi'*  
*tai'namowa naha'g. nata' gugupa'yu, ni'ya'yo ma'ndu go'danam*  
*yuc mad wi'gane. su'mi' na'gam wi'go ni' gatowi' wi'go wang.*

1905

*January 6.*—*mohi'ks, mata'wi' gun, zu'tc'pu yu. mad da'bi' o'wa'n*  
*gata'wi', dja'nau i'nag.<sup>76</sup> tci'pa'g'i zi'yangad, mad nana'wa o'wa'n*  
*wo'tei'na sa'nta,<sup>77</sup> Rosse Skeezucks bi'ya yudai'. mad da'bi'*  
*o'wa'n zu'wi.<sup>78</sup> wo'tei' yudai' wo'tei' dja'k'win, wa'mi' gun.*  
*tca'ntci' o'wa'n ca'bi'haman.<sup>79</sup>*

*January 7.*—*zo'tota zu'gayun wa'yangwotc. gun dja't'ci' gata'wi',*  
*da'bi' na'wa ki' yumbo'wi.*

<sup>76</sup> This interesting word gives us the Mohegan-Pequot form of the universal Algonkian designation for human being.

<sup>77</sup> At Mohegan, among many English loan words, the Indians adopted corruptions of the English names of the days of the week, viz, *Ma'ndata, Du'zata, Wa'nsata, Do'zo'ta, Bi'ai'ta, Zo'tota, Sa'nta*.

<sup>78</sup> It may be interesting to note that this verb in Penobscot (*tcuwi's*) is used only in address to dogs.

<sup>79</sup> The meaning of this word was never definitely ascertained. One might take it, however, to be a derivation of the English verb "to shovel" (Mohegan has no *v* or *l*) with Algonkian *an*; yet it is probably pure Indian and related to Natick (Massachusetts) *chippinum*, "he separates it, puts it apart," "clears it," in other words.

*June 19.*—Great Father staying in heaven. Very great is your name. May your heaven come. Likewise as is your command, so may they say here on earth as it is going on in heaven. Give [us] to-day bread, so, too, for another day. Make my heart good so that I may not like things evil, because yours is heaven, yours is strength very good; that is forever [and] forever.<sup>75</sup>

*November 1.*—Clear sun. *Ma'ndu* is good because I can help myself. My heart is closed up, that is so! *Ma'ndu* takes away these things not good. Because he is good I am going to be good too.

1905

*January 6.*—Mohegan, much fallen snow, snowing now. Can not anyone go [out], only men. Dreadfully cold. I have not seen anyone since Sunday, [when] Rosse Skeezueks<sup>81</sup> came here. Can not anyone go out from here from the house, all snow. Everyone must shovel it clear.

*January 7.*—Saturday. Rain last night. Snow half gone, can see the ground again.

<sup>75</sup> This is Mrs. Fielding's Mohegan Lord's Prayer. She was in her latter days a Seventh Day Adventist. Professor Prince, in a former article on this dialect (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 5, No. 2, p. 208, 1903) has reproduced and restored the Lord's Prayer in Pequot as it was recorded in Governor Salteristall's notes (1721), and later published in the first annual report of the American Society, 1824, p. 54. This was reprinted in DeForest's *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, p. 39. Professor Prince's restored version seems to show signs of its being a dialect slightly variant from the one preserved by Mrs. Fielding, unless the differences between the two are due entirely to the changes wrought by time.

<sup>81</sup> Jerome Roscoe Skesueks was one of the Indian boys at that time living at Mohegan. (See photo pl. 30, c, d.) His father was from Brotherton, Wisconsin, of Narragansett descent. His mother was o, half Nehantic descent, a native of Mohegan. The family patronym is from *ski'zaks*, "eyes," or "little eye," common to Mohegan-Pequot, Narragansett, and Massachusetts. The name may be traced back to a chieftain in the time of King Philip's War (1675-76).



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

*a*, CYNTHIA FOWLER; *b*, RACHEL FIELDING; *c*, AMY COOPER;  
*d*, EMMA (FIELDING) BAKER. ALL MOHEGAN



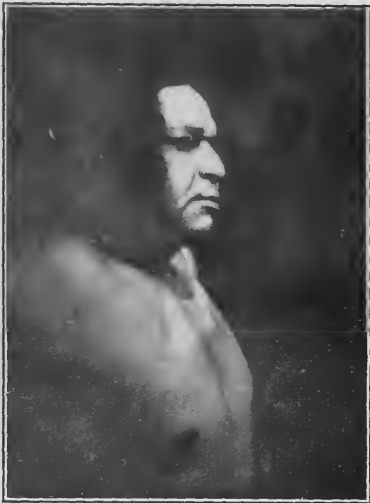
*a*



*b*

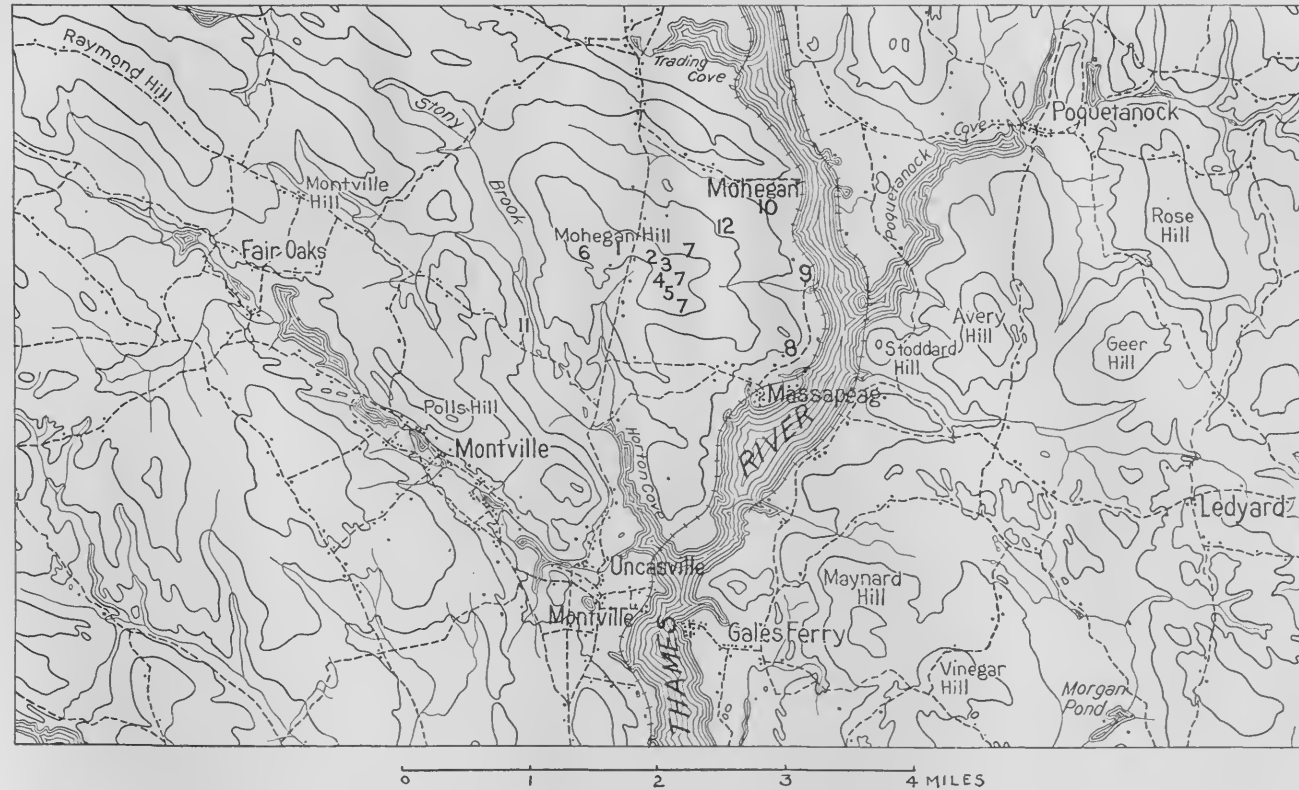


*c*



*d*

*a, b*, CHARLES MATHEWS (FULL FACE AND PROFILE), NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN; *c, d*, J. R. SKEESUCKS (TWO VIEWS), NEHANTIC-MOHEGAN



PART OF THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY CHART (NORWICH SHEET), SHOWING LOCATION OF MOHEGAN SETTLEMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD, WITH LEGENDARY PLACES INDICATED BY NUMBERS



GROUP OF MOHEGAN IN COSTUME GATHERED NEAR THE SITE OF UNCAS FORT AT SHANTOK  
POINT

(Photograph by R. L. French)





*a*



*b*

- a*, VIEW OF RUINS OF STONE FORT ON MOHEGAN HILL, LOOKING NORTH. BOWLDERS FORMING PART OF ORIGINAL WALL ARE SHOWN STILL IN PLACE (1921) (NO. 1 ON CHART);  
*b*, VIEW OF SAME RUINS LOOKING EAST

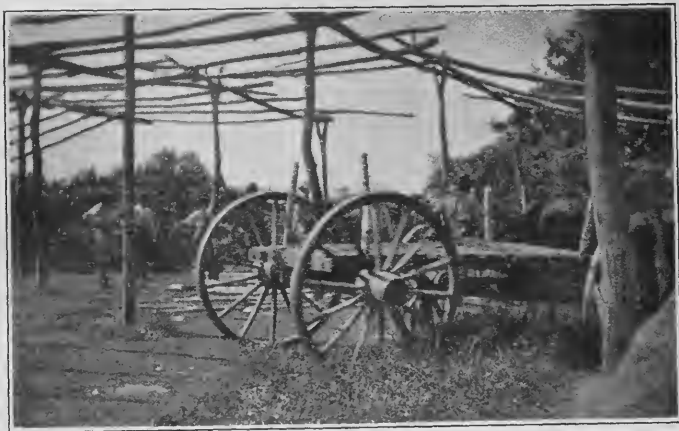
The inclosure on the rock outcrop is known in Mohegan tradition as the "kitchen" and women's quarters of the old fort



*a*



*b*



*c*

*a*, MOHEGAN CHAPEL ON MOHEGAN HILL, ON SITE OF OLD VILLAGE (NO. 2 ON CHART); *b*, SCENE AT THE "WIGWAM" (1920), OX TEAM BRINGING SUPPLIES; *c*, SCENE AT ERECTION OF THE "WIGWAM" IN 1902, SHOWING SKELETON OF THE STRUCTURE, CROTTED POSTS, AND STRINGERS



*a*



*b*

*a*, VIEW FROM THE TOP OF LANTERN HILL, A LANDMARK IN THE PEQUOT COUNTRY OVERLOOKING ONE OF THE SMALL LAKES BORDERING THE PEQUOT RESERVATION. THE GIRLS IN THE PHOTOGRAPH ARE MOHEGAN; *b*, WINTER VIEW ACROSS COUNTRY FROM MOHEGAN CHAPEL (NO. 2 ON CHART)

## APPENDIX

---

### GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND LEGENDS AT MOHEGAN

It seems that an account of the life of old Mohegan would hardly be complete without some geographical reference to localities which Mrs. Fielding referred to in her narrative. To record some of these legends at the present time will no doubt preserve them from oblivion, because not all, by any means, are even known to the present generation of Mohegan. (The numbers heading the paragraphs refer to the locations on the chart, pl. 31.) For instance, the very name of the Thames River is not known to the Indians, and would have been lost were it not for Mrs. Fielding's mention of it as *o'si'd*. What this term means it is impossible to say.

*Muddy Cove*.—There is little to record about the locality, except that it had a Mohegan name which did not follow the common rule of native place names by passing over directly into New England toponymy. Mrs. Fielding, who mentions the place a number of times, called it *Basa'gwana'ntaksag*, "little mud river cove." It is known locally as Muddy Cove.

*No. 1. Uncas Fort* (pl. 33, *a, b*).—The ancient stone inclosure which tops the elevation known as Fort Hill farm is perhaps the most imposing example of native ruins in the immediate neighborhood. The site is marked (No. 1) on the chart. Here is a stone inclosure encompassing three sides, consisting of rocks and boulders, plainly visible among the woods. On the north, west, and south sides the remains of the stone wall range from 6 to 8 feet across and from 1 to 3 feet above the floor of the woods. There are no stones on the eastern face, and so there may have been a log stockade instead of a wall here. The hill also is steepest on this side, where it falls off to the Mohegan Road, now the highway between Norwich and New London. On the northeast corner of the main inclosure is a smaller inclosure of large, flat slabs laid upon a crown of the hard rock. This is remembered by the Mohegan as having been a kitchen, or a woman's quarters, used when the fort was occupied. No other details seem to be remembered, so any further reconstruction will have to be the result of excavation and inference. Several times I have paced off the area, which turns out to be 60 paces on the western front and about 38 on the northern and southern. The smaller inclosure or kitchen is about 30 feet square. Some of the slabs here are in what appears to be their original position (pl. 33).

The Mohegan call this Uncas's Fort. Here the famous chief supposedly had one of his inland strongholds, enveloped by a high stone wall on three sides at least.

Now the environs of the old fort are destitute of all signs of life, though several families of the Mohegan still live almost under the shadow of the hill and the trees that crown it. The vireos sing there through the long summer days from the oaks, whose trunks, a foot thick, rise from the inclosure, and the woodchuck makes his burrow beneath the tumble-down of rocks that marks the place, in the northeast corner, where the kitchen stood in the days when the Mohegan women plied their nourishing industry for those who sought refuge in the stockade. The rose-breasted grosbeak is not an uncommon frequenter of the premises. A ghost still holds forth on the steep hillside among the rocks. Some of the Indians, in fact most of them, have at one time or another heard the clinking maul and wedge of some one splitting stone there on dark nights.

It is furthermore asserted that persons passing by this place on the roadway after dark are likely to perceive stones being thrown at them. Some even have felt themselves struck by the missiles. An old general Algonkian belief perpetuated. Somewhere, also, in the vicinity a murdered Indian is said to have been buried. The sound of digging has been fancied to come from the place, even within the last few years.

No. 2. *Old Church* (pl. 34, a).—The old Mohegan church, erected in 1831, was a factor in the conversion of the Mohegans, and has long been a landmark in their religious and social history. It stands upon the crown of Mohegan Hill, from which some wide and inspiring views may be had toward every point of the compass. Southward the eye follows down the Thames River to New London and Long Island Sound; west over the hills toward Connecticut River, or northwest to Wawecus Hill and the Taconnic Range, across which the ancient tribe is believed to have migrated, northeast past Norwich or the old "Landin' Place," to the hills near the Massachusetts line. Eastward is a wide panorama of the old Pequot country opening out across country on the east of the Thames. This tract shows from Mohegan lower and less hilly except for several rocky eminences, one of which, Lantern Hill, rises several hundred feet above the horizon (pl. 35, a). Here is a widely known landmark of Indian days. From its almost bare summit is an extensive view across the birch swamps renowned in the Pequot war of 1636, where the natives sought refuge from the vengeance of the Pilgrims. Now, almost under the shadow of Lantern Hill, lies their diminutive reservation, where the several families of Pequot mixed bloods reside.

The green in front of the church is still the spiritual center of life at Mohegan. Here is enacted annually the festival of the Mohegan

women's society, an ordinary modern church festival now, but one with a remote ancestry. The account given of this event 20 years ago, which is quoted below, still applies to the procedure, except that oak posts are now substituted for the chestnut, the latter trees through this whole region having succumbed to the chestnut blight.

"There is no doubt, though, that the Mohegan, like most of the Atlantic coast sedentary tribes, had a ceremony to signalize the season of the corn harvest. This ceremony, known widely among other tribes as the Green Corn Dance, has a degraded survival in a modern September festival. The festival is now simply a sort of fair for the benefit of the Indian church. A suitable time is appointed by the church women, and the men proceed to erect a large wigwam as a shelter. An area adjoining the church, at least 60 feet square, is covered by this arbor. Crotched chestnut posts are erected in the ground about 10 feet apart, and from one to the other of these crosspieces are laid. Quantities of green white-birch saplings have been cut and are then strewn over the roof quite thickly. The sides are filled and woven in with these also, in such a manner as to make a fairly weather-tight enclosure. A portion of the wigwam's side is visible in the background of Plates 34, *b*, and 36. For some days before the festival several men are kept busy pounding up quantities of corn for yókeg, which the women and children have roasted. Several large mortars are kept exclusively for this purpose, and are the common property of the tribe. These are kept in the custody of the Tantaquidgeon family residing a hundred yards or so from the church grounds. The days of the festival are merely the occasion for a general informal gathering of the Indians from far and near, and the sale, for the benefit of the church treasury, of such things as they are able to make. Many articles of Indian manufacture already described are displayed on the benches in this wigwam, for sale as souvenirs and articles of utility; while various dishes of food, ancient and modern, are made and sold on the grounds. Some other sort of amusement is usually introduced from outside for the three days, and an admission price is charged. They also have some one appear in full Indian costume as an added attraction. The Mohegan make this annual gathering a sort of tribal holiday. The fact that it takes place at the height of the corn season, and that corn products, particularly yókeg and su'ktac (parched corn powder and corn and bean soup), play such an important part in it, are clear indications of the early nature of this festival."<sup>1</sup>

Within the past ten years the "Wigwam" festival has been considerably revived by the people, many of them appearing in native homemade costumes, as some of the accompanying portraits show.

<sup>1</sup>cf. Speck, ref. i., pp. 194-195.

No. 3. *Devil's Footprint* (pl. 37, b).—Only a few rods in the rear of the old church, that is, east of it, is a granite boulder several feet high and about 3 feet across. On its top face is a crevice some 8 inches deep and as wide as one's hand. This is said to contain always some water. This is the "devil's footprint." Tradition says that when the devil left this region he leaped from this stone and in so doing drove his cloven foot into the stone. His next step, Mrs. Fielding used to say, was to Long Island, where, she believed, the mate to the impression is to be found somewhere near Montauk, as she had heard the Long Island Indians speak of it. The legend is not uncommon in other parts of America in the regions of European influence and beyond it as well. At Lorette, P. Q., Barbeau describes how the Huron have a similar stone, while I have encountered other instances in the East.

Nos. 4, 5, 6. *The Indian Springs*.—At several localities in the heart of the Mohegan settlement springs which are known to have been used in aboriginal days pour forth from the hillsides. They still bear the names of old Indians who at some time had their cabins near by. In some places pits are yet noticeable and appear as cavities in the fields. The present-day Mohegan call them "muggs" holes and store potatoes within them. Every household formerly had one. One of these springs (No. 6) is west of the old Uncas Hill fort and still pours from two spacious basins. It is known as Twin Springs. Another splendidly flowing spring is Uncas's Spring, in a pasture about one-fourth of a mile southeast of the old church (No. 4). There is a tradition that the water from Uncas's Spring would "make one strong and healthy." People would travel from afar to get it. And still another is No'ni's Spring (No. 5), about one-fourth mile farther to the southeast. Here in the immediate surroundings are numerous surface indications of early occupancy.

No. 7. *Indian Corn Hills*.—Lying north of these springs over an area of 15 or 20 acres, and again on the north side of Mohegan Hill and toward the river, are extensive remains of the Indian corn hills. They are indicated on the map by the figures 7, which give an approximate location. They appear as small mounds, sometimes but not always in alignment, varying from 6 or 8 inches to a foot in elevation. Dr. A. I. Hallowell has described and discussed these aboriginal corn hills in a short report <sup>2</sup> as follows:

"The corn hills, observed during a few days' visit to Mohegan last August, are in two localities. One of them is an 8 to 10 acre pasture on high ground, a few minutes' walk a little southeast of the Indian meetinghouse. The mounds which stud this field are from the point of view of order intermediary between those described by Lapham and the hills referred to at Assonet neck. (Cf. American Anthro-

<sup>2</sup> American Anthropologist, n. s. vol. 23, No. 2 (1921), p. 233.



pologist, July-September, 1920.) They probably resemble quite closely those described at Northampton, Mass.

"In the second locality, which is also pasture but farther toward the Thames River, and bordering on wooded land, the hills are quite irregularly scattered and few if any can be said to be in rows. It is said that mounds also existed in a field close to the first locality mentioned, but within a year or two the white man's plow has entirely obliterated all traces of them.

"It is of no little significance that there is an unbroken tradition at Mohegan regarding these corn hills. Anyone asked will point them out as such."

De Forest<sup>3</sup> also refers to similar corn fields visible in his day, 1852, near the village of Thompson, in the extreme northeastern corner of Connecticut, in the old Nipmuck country.

No. 8. *Papoose Rock* (pl. 37, a).—At a point near the shore of the Thames just above the village of Massapeag, which was incidentally an old Mohegan site whose name means "big water," is a ledge about 100 feet in height. A jutting ledge halfway down toward the river was pointed out by the older people as the scene of the following legend:<sup>4</sup>

"There was a Mohegan who went across to Long Island and took a wife from one of the tribes there. After some time he tired of her and came home. Soon after she had a child. She said to herself, 'My child's father has left me to take care of him. I can not do it alone.' So she made ready for a journey and set out for the Mohegan country across the Sound to look for her husband. She found him at Mohegan and said to him, 'You must take care of me and the child.' But he paid no attention to her. Then she went down to where there was a steep sloping rock, not far from the river. Standing on the top of this slope, she took her child in one hand and grasped its head with the other. Then she twisted the head and it came off, the blood flowing down the rocks. The woman cast the head down, and the body she threw farther out. Where the head fell there remained a splotch of blood, and where the body struck there was left an imprint stained upon the rock in the shape of the child. That is the story. The blood is there yet, and it tells of her deed when she has gone."

No. 9. *Shantok or Shantup Point* (pls. 32, 38, b).—The name comes from an ancient Mohegan family named Shantup which is said to have resided there. At this point several historic associations are centered. An ancient Mohegan burying ground may still be seen. The interments have left their inerasible marks in elongated hollows irregularly distributed over several acres. Among them are the

<sup>3</sup> De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from Speck, ref. i (1909), pp. 186-187.

late burials, where during historic times the Mohegan have been laid away and marked, first with granite slabs and last with manufactured stone. The old graves and the new are commingled. The older generation of Indians just passed away remembered how bodies used to be carried to the cemetery suspended by thongs beneath the neck, waist, and heels, to a pole carried on the shoulders of two men. This seems to have been the general method of carrying corpses reported among most of the central and eastern tribes.

At the same place, a few rods north and fronting on the river bluff, here about 50 feet high, was an ancient shell heap, still conspicuous, and composed of oyster and hard and soft shell clams, from a foot to 18 inches in depth. The usual shell-heap implements and a few potsherds may be found among them. This was, moreover, the site of Uncas Fort in 1645, when the Mohegan chief was besieged by Pessacus. Several legends are current in connection with the great siege, in which the Narragansett might have succeeded in reducing the Mohegan if the latter had not been relieved by a supply of food brought in by Captain Leffingwell coming from Saybrook. The site of the stockade has been marked by a rubble pyramid erected by the local Daughters of the American Revolution and appropriately inscribed.

One of the Mohegan legends is as follows:<sup>5</sup>

"When the Narragansett had landed on Shantic Point and had taken up their position of siege, it looked to the Mohegan as though they were to lose; for the enemy outnumbered them. Now, there was one Narragansett who had climbed a certain tree not far off, where by means of his elevation he could command an advantageous view of the Mohegan behind their palisades. From this perch he directed a destructive fire into them, adding insult and raillery to his attacks. 'Are you hungry?' he would ask in taunting tones. In order to remove such an obnoxious adversary from their view the best of the Mohegan marksmen engaged in trying to bring him down, but without result. His abusiveness increased as their shots failed to touch him. Then they concluded that he was a *moigū*, 'witch.' At length a Mohegan who possessed power equal to that of the Narragansett appeared and ordered the others to desist. Taking a bullet from his pouch he swallowed it. Straightway it came out of his navel. He swallowed it again and it came out of his navel. Again he did it, with the same result. Now he loaded his rifle with the charmed ball, and taking aim, fired at the man in the tree. The Narragansett dropped out of the branches, dead."

---

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Speck, *ref. i* (1909), pp. 196-197.



SCENE AT "WIGWAM" (1909), SHOWING SIZE, CONSTRUCTION, DOORWAY, AND GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS, MOST OF THEM MOHEGAN



*a*



*b*

*a*, VIEW OF LEGENDARY PAPOOSE ROCK AT MOHEGAN NEAR THAMES RIVER, LOOKING NORTH (1921) (NO. 8 ON CHART);  
*b*, "DEVIL'S FOOTPRINT" IN BOWLDER JUST BACK OF MOHEGAN CHAPEL (1921) (NO. 3 ON CHART)



*a*



*b*

*a*, SCENE ON MOHEGAN HILL, OLD INDIAN PATH NEAR MOHEGAN CHAPEL (NO. 2 ON CHART); *b*, MOHEGAN BURYING GROUND AT SHANTOK POINT (NO. 9 ON CHART)



MRS. MARY (KILSON) JESSON, SCATTICOOK.  
(TWO VIEWS)



*a*



*b*

*a*, JESSIE HARRIS, SCATTICOOK; *b*, JIM HARRIS AND HIS SONS,  
SCATTICOOK (1903)



*a*



*b*

*a*, A LANDMARK IN THE OLD NEHANTIC COUNTRY. THE CAVE SHELTER NEAR NIANTIC (EAST LYME) WHERE TRADITION SAYS THE IROQUOIS BESEIGED THE NEHANTIC. THE BOY IN THE ENTRANCE IS A MOHEGAN; *b*, THE LANDING PLACE ON THE OLD NEHANTIC RESERVATION AT CRESCENT BEACH, NEAR EAST LYME, LOOKING NORTH TOWARD WIGWAM SITES AND SITE OF INDIAN STOCKADE IN COLONIAL TIMES





*a*



*b*

*a*, SCENE LOOKING NORTH ON THE HOUSATONIC RIVER FROM SCATTICOOK RESERVATION; *b*, SCENE IN THE GORGE OF THE HOUSATONIC NEAR MILFORD, IN THE OLD SCATTICOOK COUNTRY

A few days later Colonel Leffingwell, from Saybrook Fort, effected an entrance by night, bringing the carcass of a steer to the starving Mohegan. The following morning they stuck the quarters up on poles and waved them in derision where the enemy could see them and know that succor had arrived. Then the relief party on the heels of Leffingwell appeared on the river and the Narragansett were dispersed.

*No. 10. Sandy Desert.*—A legend of an encounter with some invading tribe is associated with a barren sandy zone running westward from the river about half a mile toward the Mohegan road. The place, which has the appearance of being an outlying extension of the coastal plain, is clothed with a growth of pitch pine and other sand-barrens vegetation. The legend,<sup>6</sup> which I recorded some years ago, is given:

"It was not such a place as it is now, but fertile and pleasant. The tribe was on friendly relations with the Mohegan, but before long some disease came among them and killed them off like sheep. Ever since that time this valley, where their settlement was, has never grown any grass. Their bones are often unearthed."

This relation was by James Rogers. The contradiction between the two statements regarding the hostile attitude of the strange tribe is probably due to an error of memory on his part, for at the time he spoke he was a very old Indian. We have examined the tract for surface indications, but found nothing more than a few scattered stone implements.

*No. 11. Cutchegun Rock.*—At this spot on the map is located a massive boulder near Stony Brook, known as Cutchegun Rock, reported in several geological records to be the largest detached boulder in New England. Here in colonial times dwelt a Mohegan named Caleb Cutchegun, whose home was made in a cavity on the under side of the rock. Here, likewise, Mohegan tradition mentions a resort of Uncas. On top of the rock he is said to have held his council meetings, seated upon a flat stone for a bench, surrounded by some seven other flat stones for his councilmen. These stones, however, have within a few years been rolled off the crown of the rock by vandals.

*No. 12. Paul's Burying Ground.*—At a spot near where the figure 12 appears on the map is the evidence of early sepulture. Tradition asserts that here in colonial times an Englishman named Paul and his daughter were buried. They had become lost and were saved by the Indians, who gave them refuge. Later, it is said, they died of some contagious disease, which carried off many of the Indians themselves.

---

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Speck, ref. i (1909), p. 187.

## AN ADDENDUM TO MOHEGAN-PEQUOT FOLKLORE

A considerable period of time has elapsed since any writer has given an account of the beliefs of the tribes in the now thickly settled Atlantic seaboard. From the score of Indians who still inhabit Mohegan I have gotten the following few beliefs and superstitions, which somewhat extend our body of knowledge available for comparison with that of neighboring groups. A list and brief discussion of folklore and medicines, collected with the aid of Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon, was published in 1915. Since then her efforts have continued, and Mr. J. R. Skeesucks (pl. 30, *c*, *d*), of the same tribe, has contributed, to both of whom I am indebted for additions.

In one of my other papers<sup>1</sup> on the Mohegan-Pequot I gave a fragment of a song from a story, which I am now able to correct. The proper version of this little verse, the only sample of native lyrics, is:

pe'tikado's gu'ganō's  
ka'ngayai ntu'lipō's

The attempted translation at the time for this was, "My grandfather brings it, my turtle carries it."<sup>2</sup> Since this jingle was first recorded I have learned that among children the grasshopper was called gu'ganō's (possibly also "your grandfather"). This makes a change in the translation, which comes forth more clearly with the help of Penobscot verb stems, changing pe'tikado's to mean "he comes jumping in," and ka'ngayai to mean "he goes swiftly" (Penobscot kaŋga'wi'le=ka'ngayai, substituting *y* in Mohegan-Pequot for *l*). So we would have for this a more figurative meaning, "Grasshopper (or grandfather) jumps in, my turtle goes swiftly by."

Perhaps some connection with the myth to which this recitation belonged will still be found in the mythology of the Wabanaki, or even among the Central Algonkian.

From one of the earlier accounts<sup>3</sup> I quote the following narratives concerning the forest spirits believed in at Mohegan, to which some further information may now be added:

"It seems characteristic of the Algonkian tribes, in particular, to believe in numerous varieties of fairies, forest elves, and river elves. The Mohegan claim to have believed in the existence of many of these in former times, but only one kind is now remembered. These are the mākia'wisəg 'little people' (singular məkki's).

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Mohegan and Niantic Indians. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, N. Y., vol. III (1909), p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Prince suggested this rendering a number of years ago. He was quite as successful as he was with his famous treatment of "mene mene tekeli upharsin."

<sup>3</sup> Speck, ref. i, pp. 201-202.

The following short narrative of Mrs. Fielding explains all that is known about them:

"The *mākia'wisag* were dwarfs who lived in the woods. They were the ones who made the pictures and scratchings on the rock which stood on Fort Hill. (Since blasted out by road makers.) The old glass bottles which are plowed out of the ground here and there were left by them, as were also the brass kettles found in graves.

"The last of them to be seen around here were some whom Martha Uneas told about. It must have been before 1800. She was then a child coming down the Yantic River in a canoe with her parents. They saw some *mākia'wisag* running along the shore. A pine forest grew near the water, and they could be seen through the trees. Her mother saw them and said, 'Don't look at the dwarfs. They will point their fingers at you, and then you can not see them.' She turned her head away. There did not seem to be many of them.

"The dwarfs came to people's houses, asking for something to eat. According to the old Indians, one must always give the dwarfs what was wanted; for if they were refused, they would point their fingers at one, so that one could not see them, and the dwarfs would take whatever they chose.

"There was an Indian and his wife who lived near here long ago. They saw some *mākia'wisag*. It was this way: One stormy night there was a rap on their door. When the woman opened the door the wind blew very hard. Some one was standing outside, but she did not know who it was. When she found out what the person wanted, she told her husband that someone wanted her to go and take care of a sick woman a long way off. She decided to go, and packed up her things to leave. The person was a dwarf, but she thought he was a boy. He led her far away through the storm. After a while they reached a small underground house. The dwarf led the Indian woman inside, and there lay a dwarf woman ill on a bed of skins. The Indian woman then recognized them as *mākia'wisag*. She stayed with them some time and cared for the sick one until she got well. When she was ready to return home the dwarf gave the Indian woman a lot of presents, blindfolded her, and led her back to her home. She was very well treated. The Indians often tried to find these dwarfs, but they never succeeded. They were never heard of afterwards. I believe these were the last. They generally kept away from the Indians, but never molested them. People used to think that the mounds in this part of the Thames Valley were made by the dwarfs."

The term *mākia'wi's* is interesting in several connections. Besides meaning "little boy," in Stiles's Pequot vocabulary *mucko-wheese* (*mā'kawi's*) is given as *whippoorwill*. There is evidently

an analogy here between the bird and the fairies, one which is carried through several Algonkian mythologies. Thus we have in Mohegan the lady slipper (*Cypripedium*) known as "whippoorwill's slipper." It bears the same fanciful name in the Wabanaki dialects, wi''pula'ksōns, "whippoorwill's moccasin," while in the distant New Jersey Delaware dialect it was also "whippoorwill's shoe."<sup>4</sup> Imagination is no doubt responsible for the association of the whippoorwill and the elves in Mohegan, the name and fancy finally being taken by the colonists. The name ma'k'i's, "little boy," is not cognate with the corresponding names for elves in other northern Algonkian languages, though the fairy-lore is much the same among practically all the tribes from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico. In Wabanaki we have wna'game's'u (Penobscot), manōgama's (St. Francis Abenaki, which Rasles gives as wanangmeswak, "revenants"), wigela'dəmu'te (Micmac), denoting creatures with attributes very similar to those just described. A similar concept is well distributed north of the St. Lawrence, bearing the name memegwe'ju among the Montagnais and me'megwe's'i among the northern Ojibwa.<sup>5</sup>

Ghosts or wandering spirits (dji'bai) are believed to be round about. Besides indulging in many mystifying capers, such as appearing suddenly before people at night and making peculiar and terrifying noises, they are thought to take vengeance on their enemies and help their friends on earth in various ways. It is, however, hard to separate the Indian from the European elements in such tales.

The will-o'-the-wisp is called g'ackatcəng. The Indians believe it to be caused by spirits who are traveling about with lights. They are greatly feared, and are thought to be more numerous at certain places and at particular times of the year. We encounter in this another common Algonkian concept in the association of the disembodied soul with the apparition of a spot of light. Here are given some short anecdotes:

"One dark, stormy night a woman was coming down the long hill toward Two Bridges, having been up to New London. Looking across the swamp to the opposite slope she beheld a light approaching in her direction. When they drew near to one another the woman saw that the light was suspended in the center of a person's stomach as though in a frame. There was no shadow cast, and yet the outline of the person could be distinguished as it surrounded the light. The woman was badly frightened and ran all the way home.

"Another time Tantaquidgeon was riding home, and when he was passing the same swamp two dogs dashed from the bushes, and from their mouths they breathed fire. They ran alongside, blowing

<sup>4</sup> Information from Dr. John W. Harshberger, University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>5</sup> Memoir 71, Geological Survey of Canada, Anthropological Series No. 9 (1915), p. 82.

flames at the horse's flanks until he passed the swamp. A white horse's head has been seen lying there, too, but when the person approached it it moved farther along, just keeping ahead of him. Women who have gone through the bars near the swamp at night have felt hands holding onto their skirts, and even herds of pigs have dashed out to terrify belated travelers at night. Some Indians claim to have felt hands grasping their feet as they went by."

Mrs. Fielding was aroused one night by a light that shone from the hill above her house, and while she stood watching it from her window she saw it ascend the hill to a small heap of rocks, where it blazed up high and subsided. Then it moved to another rock and blazed high again, subsiding as before in a few moments. She had reason to be certain that no one was in the pasture, and the next morning she found no evidence of burning about the rocks. The thing was repeated a number of times, and she considered herself to have been visited by spirits.<sup>6</sup>

The will-o'-the-wisp, known as *ga'ckatcang*, presents a term possibly derived from *ga'ckatca* (Natick, *qushkodteau*), "he crosses or passes over (something)," which would give us the plausible meaning "that which passes over."

"Fox fire," the phosphorescent glow emanating from damp rotten wood, is locally *dji'bai wa'ηkcas*, "ghost, or spirit, fox," but beyond relating occasions when it has been seen the Indians have little to record of its development in folklore. Nevertheless this name has been one of the most persistent survivals among the feeble remnants of the New England tribes. At Mashpee, the Nauset and Wampanoag descendants remember *tei'pai wa'ηkcas*, "spirit fox," as a sign of death to the beholder, and upon the little reservation at Middleboro, Mass., Charlotte Mitchell, a survivor of the Massachusetts, gives *tei'pai wa'ηkcas* as "devil," all of which bear witness to a widespread belief in the East, especially when we encounter a similar belief under the name *dji'bai' skwuda'*, "spirit fire," among the St. Francis Abenaki, whose ancestry embraces bands of refugees from Massachusetts and Maine. At Penobscot the corresponding term is *dji'bai' skwude*.

---

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from ref. i, p. 202.

## MOHEGAN MEDICINAL PRACTICES, WEATHER-LORE AND SUPERSTITION

By GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

The following list of pharmacopoeia from the Mohegan embraces matter published in 1915, which has been largely added to and amplified since that time. The material was prepared for a paper read before the American Folk-lore Society, Philadelphia, 1926.

The administration of the remedies here is the same in general as among the other eastern Algonkian. The practitioners were mostly old women, although sorcerers (*moigu'wag*) employed herb cures in addition to their magical practices. Several magic plants are mentioned in Mohegan folklore as having been used by former witches. One is "whistling root," a mysterious plant known to some of the shamans, which endowed the finder with supernatural power. When placed upon a rock it is said that the root would whistle and vanish. Other weeds are spoken of which were so potent in the hands of a magician that even the sight of them would frighten away the most savage dogs.

The remedies are termed *α'mbask* (derivation of *α'mbi*, "liquid"). There is a taboo against gathering them for medicine during dog days.

Bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) is steeped and used as a blood medicine, and it is also regarded as an emetic.

Ripe wild cherries (*Prunus serotina*) are put into a bottle and allowed to ferment as they are, in their own juice, for about a year, when they are thought to become an excellent remedy for dysentery. Wild-cherry leaves and boneset steeped together make a tea beneficial for colds, "to be drunk hot at night, cold at morn."

White pine (*Pinus strobus*) bark is steeped and drunk cold to cure a cold.

Leaves of the wild grape (*Vitis labrusca*) are bound directly to the head for headache. "In a few hours they are completely dried and crackled by the fever which they absorb."

"May weed" (*Anthemis cotula*) (European) is steeped and the liquid drunk cold for fever.

Sweet fern (*Myrica asplenifolia*) leaves are steeped and the liquid rubbed on the skin to cure the toxic effect of poison ivy.

"Canker lettuce," shin leaf (*Pyrola elliptica*), is steeped and the liquid used as a gargle for sores or cankers in the mouth.

Tobacco smoke blown into the ear will stop earache.

Wild mustard (*Brassica nigra*) leaves are bound on the skin to relieve toothache or headache.

The leaves of rattlesnake plantain (*Epipactis pubescens*) are made into a mash to prevent sore mouth in babies.

Boneset (*Eupatorium perfoliatum*) tea, as in most parts of the east, is drunk for many ailments, colds, fever, and general illness.

Motherwort (*Leonurus cardiaca*) (European) is steeped to make a tea to be drunk by women for some of their peculiar ills.

"Elder blow," flowers of the elder (*Sambucus canadensis*), is made into tea to be given to babies for colic.

The bark of the elder made into a tea is an excellent purgative; when scraped upward from the branch it acts as an emetic, when scraped off downward it is a physic.

Spikenard (*Smilacina racemosa*) leaves are steeped to make a cough medicine. The root is steeped for a medicine to strengthen the stomach.

Pipsissewa (*Chimaphila umbellata*) is steeped and applied to blisters.

"Fire bush" (*Erythronium atropurpureum*), wo'hu (wahoo), is made into a tea to be used as a physic.

Running blackberry (*Rubus hispidus*) berries are steeped and drunk as a vermifuge.

Wart weed (sp. ?) exudes a whitish juice which if applied to warts will cure them.

Pennyroyal (*Hedeoma pulegioides*) is made into a tea and drunk to warm the stomach.

Spearmint (*Mentha spicata*) made into a tea is good as a worm medicine.

Golden thread (*Coptis trifolia*) is steeped for use as a mouth wash for babies.

"Peppergrass" (*Bursa bursa-pastoris*) seed pods are made into a tea for the general benefit of the stomach. Its pungency is thought to kill internal worms.

Peppermint (*Mentha piperita*) (European) tea is given to babies for worms, and grown people drink it.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*) (European) leaves are smoked for asthma and sore throat.

Chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) leaves are made into a tea to cure whooping cough.

Leaves of spicewood (*Benzoin*) are chewed or steeped to make a tea to cure children of worms.

"Indian posy" (*Anaphalis margaritacea*) is steeped and drunk for colds.

Twigs of "speckled alder" (*Alnus*) are steeped and used for bathing purposes for sprains, bruises, headaches, and backache.

The berries of "upland sumach" make a gargle for sore throat. They are also made into a beverage.



White oak (*Quercus alba*) bark is steeped and used as a liniment; it is used also for horses.

Wild rhubarb leaves are steeped to make a nerve medicine.

Spider webs and puffballs are used to stop bleeding.

The marrow of an animal's jawbone is used to draw out splinters and to allay inflammation.

Tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*) (European) and yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) are soaked together in cold water and taken as an appetizer and for the stomach.

Wild indigo (*Baptisia tinctoria*) root is steeped and used to bathe cuts and wounds.

"Indian tea" (*Aster umbellatus*) is steeped from dried leaves and used as a beverage.

Elecampane (*Inula helenium*) (European) is steeped for lung medicine, and also given to horses for colic.

Leaves of hardhack (*Spiraea tomentosa*) are steeped to make medicine for dysentery.

Leaves of horse-radish (*Roripa amoracia*) (European) are prepared by removing the midrib; the rest is then bound upon the cheeks for toothache.

Common plantain (*Plantago major*) leaves are bound over stings, burns, bruises, and snake bites to draw out the poison.

Catnip (*Nepeta cataria*) (European) tea is given to babies for colic.

Burdock (*Arctium minus*) (European), boneset, and motherwort are combined into a tea used for colds in the wintertime.

Hops (*Humulus lupulus*) are used in making nerve medicine. Only the blossoms are used. This brew is very "quieting." A little bag of dried blossoms, heated, is applied in case of toothache or earache.

Eln (*Ulmus americana*) bark is steeped to make cough and cold medicine.

The root of blueweed (*Echium vulgare*) (European) is steeped for kidney medicine.

Snakeroot (*Aristolochia serpentaria*) is pounded into a mash and applied to snake bites.

Dandelion plant (*Taraxacum officinale*) is steeped for a physic.

A spring tonic is made by steeping together the following: Wild-cherry bark (*Prunus serotina*), sassafras root (*Sassafras sassafras*), sarsaparilla root (*Aralia nudicaulis*), sweet-flag root (*Acorus calamus*), ginseng root (*Panax quinquefolium*), burdock leaves, spikenard root (*Smilacina racemosa*), dandelion plant, and blossoms of the white daisy (*Chrysanthemum leucanthemum*), boneset, motherwort, and black birch (*Betula lenta*) bark.

For cases of fever caused by taking cold in the winter, the heart of onion roasted in the coals of a fire is used. The heart is bound on the wrist, hollow of the foot, and sometimes on the chest and back in severe cases. It is thought to "draw out" the trouble and reduce congestion. A piece of the same inserted in the ear will cure earache.

Some other interesting empirical cures not employing herbs and some associated beliefs are as follows:

To catch a black snake (*Bascanium constrictor*) alive and bite on him from head to tail will cure toothache and prevent recurrence. (Also an Iroquois belief, substituting the green snake (*Liopeltis vernalis*) for the black snake.)

Fresh cow dung bound upon the face will cure a toothache.

A black-snake skin worn round the waist next the skin will cure rheumatism.

To relieve chapped lips, rub the finger behind the ear, then over the lips.

Wax from the ear applied to insect stings will allay the irritation.

To cure hiccough, think of a gray horse.

Skunk oil, or goose grease, obtained by simply melting the fat, is taken internally for colds.

The fumes of a piece of leather in the fire will help colds.

At the time of childbirth, if the infant is born with a "veil" it is a sign that it is gifted with supernatural power.

When children double up their fists and strike at their parents they are told that their hands may drop off, or that they may lose their fingers.

The sensation of a hand gripping the shoulder is a sign of approaching death.

A cure for rheumatism is, let a quantity of earthworms and ants rot together in a bottle and later rub the mass upon the painful part.

The odor of the effluvium of the skunk is considered strength-giving.

The wild slippery elm grows near Mohegan in a few places. The inner bark is kept by some of the Indians and chewed to relieve a tight cough.

Drippings of oil from eelskins are used as a healing ointment.

Roots of Indian pipe are considered to be as good as quinine for colds and pain. A tea is made of them.

Slices of salt pork bound on the throat will relieve soreness.

Salt pork is also used to allay pain caused by inflammation.

The rind of salt pork is rubbed over the body where rash appears in cases of measles and chicken pox.

"Soot tea" is given to infants to relieve colic. It is prepared by pouring boiling water over a small quantity of soot.

"Powder-post" is used as a healing powder for infants. It is obtained by scraping the powder from the decayed beams and rafters in old houses.

Milk thickened with flour, with a generous sprinkling of black pepper added, is an excellent remedy for dysentery.

Horse-chestnut snuff is used to relieve head colds and catarrhal conditions.

Sufferers from rheumatism should carry a horse-chestnut in their pocket. A potato carried in the pocket will ward off rheumatism. When the potato dries up it is discarded and replaced by a fresh one.

For toothache the following poultices are applied: (a) Lye poultice, prepared by mixing wood ashes, corn meal or flour and water together to form a paste. (b) Flour mixed with rum and sprinkled with pepper. (c) Ginger, cloves, pepper and allspice.

Mustard poultices are applied to pains in the back, chest or stomach.

A poultice made by mixing snuff and lard together is applied to the chest to relieve congestion.

The blue flag (*Iris versicolor*) is crushed and mixed with flour and used as a poultice to allay pain. (A Montagnais remedy.)

Sheep excrement mixed with the urine of the youngest child of the family was formerly administered in cases of measles. It was thought to have been effective in "driving out" the disease.

Sounds, the white gristle lying along the backbone of a fish, are used for glue. When dried they are also used to settle coffee.

Pitch from pine, spruce gum, beeswax, sassafras bark and leaves, birch and sweet flag were chewed as a pastime. (Also Iroquois.)

The following plants were made into teas and used as beverages: Sassafras, spicewood, wintergreen, Indian tea, sumac cluster, yarrow and witch-hazel. (Also Iroquois.)

April snow is melted and used as an eye wash.

May snow water is good for the complexion.

When a girl marries a man who has the same name as her own, her bread will cure whooping cough. Bread for this purpose must be obtained when the person who made it is out of the room. (Also Nanticoke.)

Saliva is good for sore eyes.

Urine will cure chapped hands.

Mutton tallow is applied to cuts and chapped hands. It is also rubbed on boots and shoes to make them waterproof.

To cure hiccoughs, engage the sufferer's attention suddenly, thus causing him to forget the complaint.

A mash made of "squaw" or "skook" (snake) berries is applied to relieve sore breasts.

The leaves of skunk cabbage (*Spathyema foetida*) are rolled to about the size of a pea and chewed as a cure for fits.

Balsam buds (*Impatiens biflora*) and rum make an ointment which is used for burns, cuts, and bruises. (Also Penobscot and Nanticoke.)

Dandelion and white daisy wines are beneficial as tonics in the spring.

Cranberries crushed and mixed with corn meal make a poultice which is most effective in case of blood poisoning.

Spruce gum or pine pitch is used as a poultice for boils and abscesses. (Also Penobscot.)

The juice obtained by crushing leaves of "Silver leaf" is applied in cases of external poisoning.

A tea made by steeping wild carrot (*Daucus carota*) blossoms is administered to diabetes sufferers. The blossoms must be in full bloom when picked for this remedy.

Yarrow tea (*Achillea millefolium*) is drunk for the liver and kidneys.

Wintergreen tea is taken to relieve disorders of the kidneys.

Prickly ash (*Xanthoxylum americanum*) bark is steeped and used as a remedy for heart trouble. A small quantity is taken for three consecutive days and then skip three days before resuming the dose.

Spruce sap is also a remedy for lung trouble.

A drink made by boiling the plant of the thistle (*Cirsium arvense*) is taken for consumption. (Also Montagnais.)

The juice of the small running blackberry (*Rubus hispidus*) is drunk for dysentery.

Burdock leaves (*Arctium minus*) bound to the affected parts will relieve rheumatism.

Jack-in-the-pulpit (*Arisaema triphyllum*) root, "Indian turnip," is steeped and the liquid used as a liniment. It acts as a poison if taken internally.

The root of "Indian turnip" (*Arisaema triphyllum*) is steeped for sore throat.

Dried pigweed (sp. ?) tea is taken to relieve hoarseness.

Onion sirup is taken for colds. Several onions are cut up and allowed to simmer over a slow heat. A small quantity of the juice is taken from time to time.

Bark taken from the south side of a maple tree (*Acer saccharinum*) is steeped and used as a cough remedy.

White pine (*Pinus strobus*) bark also makes an excellent tea which is drunk for coughs and colds.

Fern root soaked in water until it forms a jelly-like substance is taken to strengthen the lungs.

Barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) juice and water is administered in case of fever. The berries are sometimes boiled in molasses and put into crocks. By pouring cold water over a small quantity of this mixture a cooling drink is produced.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*) (European) leaves steeped in molasses make a fine cough remedy.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a hen's gizzard which has been previously dried is a remedy for indigestion.

White clover (*Trifolium repens*) tea is excellent for coughs and colds.

A tea made by steeping the twigs of the wild plum (*Prunus americana*) is a remedy for asthma.

#### WEATHER LORE

The chirping of the tree frog (*Hyla*) is a sign of damp weather. (Also Powhatan, Rappahannock, and Iroquois.)

Frogs are not killed lest excessive rain follow. (Also Iroquois.<sup>1</sup>)

The whistling of the quail, "Bob White," means "More wet."

Webs on the grass in the early morning are a sign of intense heat at midday.

The locust also tells of very warm weather. Six weeks from the time when the locust is first heard there will be frost.

If the sky is unusually red at sunrise it will rain before the day is over.

Flocks of wild geese are always carefully observed. When they fly north the weather changes and the spring season is ushered in; when they fly south winter is fast approaching. If the geese fly low and appear to be disturbed it is wise to prepare for a storm; if they fly high fair weather will prevail.

If the smoke from a fire rises during a storm the rain will soon cease to fall; if it hovers near the ground in a cloud the weather will continue to be unsettled.

When the foliage is unusually thick and crops are abundant, especially wild berries, fruits and nuts, a long, cold winter may be expected.

If chickens pick around the yard while it is raining you may be assured that it will continue to rain for sometime. It is also said that chickens "oil themselves" by picking around their wings and backs just before a storm. When a rooster crows during a storm he says: "Going to clear off to-day."

Crowing before midnight indicates a change in the weather.

Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If the sun shines when it is raining the devil (dji'bai) is whipping his wife.

If the sun shines when it is snowing the devil (dji'bai) is plucking his geese.

Dandelions blooming late in the season are a sign of an open winter.

<sup>1</sup> Respect for the frog is explained in some general Algonkian beliefs concerned with childbirth as well as rain. The topic deserves attention.

When the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds it is "drawing water." It will rain the next day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out" it is going to rain.

Northern lights (*aurora borealis*) indicate that cold weather will follow. (Also Montagnais and Iroquois.)

An unusually mild day in winter is called a "weather breeder." It is wise to prepare for a storm.

The phoebe whistles very distinctly just before a severe thunder-storm.

A circle around the moon tells that a storm is approaching. The stars within the circle are counted in order to determine when the storm is due.

During the winter months if the moon is partially concealed by a hazy atmosphere it is said that "the moon is wading through snow."

A sun dog is a sign of stormy weather. (Also Wabanaki and Montagnais-Naskapi.)

Thick husk on corn is a sign that the winter will be an extremely cold one. Thin husk indicates that the season will be mild. (Also Iroquois.)

When a hog carries sticks in its mouth it is going to rain. (Also Nanticoke and Powhatan.)

To hear chopping or talking at a greater distance than usual indicates that a storm is brewing. (Also Iroquois.)

During a period of stormy weather, if there appears a patch of blue sky large enough to make a pair of men's trousers, fair weather may be expected soon.

Thunder in the early spring is a sign that winter is over. (Also Iroquois.)

Explosions or puffs in a fire, especially when hard wood is being burned, are signs of rain. (Also Iroquois.)

Ice making a loud report means that it will soon thaw. (Also Iroquois.)

Three foggy mornings bring rain.

When you see a mare's tail or witch's broom in the sky, high winds may be expected.

A cat running and jumping about also indicates windy weather.

When a cat spends much time washing its ears and face a storm is coming.

"Mackerel sky" is also a sign of rain.

Wind from the south brings rain, from the east mild weather, and the west wind indicates clearing or prevailing fair weather.

#### PLANTING LORE

In connection with the planting of seed, certain rules must be observed if one wishes to produce a good crop. Vegetables of the climbing variety are planted when the moon is waning. It is believed

that the plants will not mature if the seeds are planted when the moon is waning. Vegetables grow best on moonlight nights. This applies particularly to cucumbers. White beans are planted when the chestnut trees are in full bloom.

Due to Iroquoian influence, the corn, bean, and squash complex appears in a very simple form. We find the three vegetables planted close together but without the usual ceremonies which are characteristic of the Iroquois planting season. When the leaves of the "shad blow" or dogwood tree are the size of a squirrel's ear it is time to plant corn. The seed corn is soaked overnight in warm water and is then ready to be planted.<sup>2</sup> In former times the corn was planted in hills with an occasional squash seed and rows of beans were planted among the hills. To-day the same idea of keeping the three vegetables close together is carried out, but the Iroquois legend of the "Three Sisters" is unknown. When the corn silk turns brown, it is ripe. At this season, when the green corn is ripening, we hold a festival which is said to be a survival of the ancient "green corn dance." This is the only ceremony in connection with the cultivation of corn which has survived among the Mohegan.

#### SIGNS GOVERNING ACTIVITIES

When the top of the narrow dock turns brown, huckleberries are ripe.

"Shad blow" and dogwood blossoms herald the shad fishing season.

In the evening, when the whippoorwill calls, it is time for the children to go to bed.

Dig clams in the full of the moon, as they are nearer the surface of the flats and are larger.

Kill hogs and plant corn and beans also in the full of the moon.

#### LUCK OMENS AND SIGNS

Spiders are not killed, as they bring good luck. If you find a spider on your dress you will soon have a new one.

Always stop and make a wish if you see a spider weaving its web near you. This is a sign of good luck and your wish will be granted.

The cricket also brings good luck and we are pleased when one finds its way into our home and chirps cheerily in some obscure corner.

A ringing or buzzing sound in the right ear indicates that you will soon hear good news; in the left ear, bad news. If your right ear burns someone is saying something good about you; the left ear, something bad. At night, a ringing sound in either ear brings good news.

If the sole of the right foot itches you will soon walk on strange ground; if the left foot, you will go where you are not wanted.

If your right eye itches, you will laugh; the left eye, you will weep.

<sup>2</sup> According to Waugh, in his study of Iroquois foods, the Iroquois had a special corn medicine in which the seed was soaked.

Itching in the palm of the right hand indicates that you will shake hands with a stranger; in the left hand, that you will receive a present.

A stone bruise will appear on the hand of a person who kills a toad.

If you kill a bat—you kill your brother.

When a screech-owl is heard it is a sign of death in the village.

A dog howling is also a sign of death.

If a snake crosses your path it is an evil omen.

If a bird flies in through an open window and flies out again without touching the walls or furniture it brings good news. Should it seem confused in attempting to find its way out again it brings news of the death of a relative. (Also Rappahannock.)

A bee flying through an open window brings a stranger.

Some informants say that to see a shooting star indicates that there will be a death in the village within a short time. Others say that it is good luck to see a shooting star. If you wish on it your wish will come true.

You will have bad luck if you sing at the table.

If you sing before breakfast you will cry before night.

If you put your clothing on wrong side out you will have good luck if you wear it that way all day.

If a hen crows it is an evil omen. (Also Nanticoke.)

If you wish on the new moon your wish will be granted.

To see the new moon over your right shoulder indicates good luck; over the left, ill luck. (Also Virginia Powhatan.)

If a hunter can hang his powder horn on the points of the new moon it is called a wet moon. It is full of water and he can not go hunting. If the ends point downward the hunter knows that the water has all run out and the weather conditions will be more favorable.

To see the new moon through glass is a sign of disappointments.

The best time to dig clams is when the moon is full.

Clipping the ends of the hair when the moon is waning not only strengthens the hair but makes it grow more luxuriantly.

It is believed that births are controlled by the moon's phases. Several informants stated that births usually occur either in the new or the full of the moon. (Also Iroquois.)

If hogs are butchered when the moon is waning the pork will shrink. It is customary to butcher when the moon is full.

Whatever you are doing when you hear the first "peep-frogs" (Hylas) in the spring, you will continue to do throughout the year.

If you throw combings out-of-doors you will suffer from frequent headaches. (Also Chickahominy.)

If you burn the bones of animals your bones will ache.

Never cut the finger nails of a baby. The nails should be bitten off until the child is one year old. (Also Virginia Powhatan.)



When you pull a child's tooth, keep it. If thrown out an animal might get it and the child would have large, crooked teeth. (Also Virginia Powhatan.)

If you wish to fill your basket with berries pick a few and throw them over your right shoulder for luck before putting any in your basket.

If a fire sputters and cracks when you attempt to add more fuel it is a sign that someone thinks ill of you. If you spit in it, that person's thoughts will cease to be unkind.<sup>3</sup>

A whistling sound in the fire is a sign of news.

Spit over a wall or fence before climbing over, for luck.

When children are heard to sing at their meals their parents silence them, through the belief that the father or mother will die.

#### DREAMS

Among the Mohegan there is a belief that dreams are messages from their ancestors who are in the spirit world. These spiritual advisers appear in dreams to guide and instruct the dreamer. Sometimes they bear messages of hope and encouragement and on other occasions warn one of impending danger or death. If a person has the same dream three nights in succession the dream will come true. To prevent its recurrence the dreamer must turn the soles of his shoes upward before retiring at night. Never tell dreams which denote ill luck before breakfast.

Several informants said that they had recurrent dreams and one young woman told the following dream which occurs before or during illness of a relative:

"On Fort Hill, near the ruins of the ancient council seat of Uncas, a blazing fire is seen. A huge pot is suspended over the flame. An Indian, tall and straight, wrapped in a bright-colored blanket and wearing a war bonnet, is stirring the contents of the pot with a long-handled wooden paddle. If the boiling substance rises to the top and flows over the sides the person who is ill dies. If it does not overflow and ceases to boil the person will recover."<sup>4</sup>

Another informant told a recurrent dream in which a black monster with terrible claws and wide spreading wings appears. This is a sign that death will claim one of the tribe within a short time.

Nearly everyone in this group believes that to dream of black animals or objects is an evil omen. To dream of negroes is a sign of trouble and disappointment in the future.

During the past summer a Mohegan woman had a dream in which the spirit of her mother came and told her to tell the people to con-

<sup>3</sup> The Nanticoke spit three times in a new fire to drive away witches.

<sup>4</sup> The life token of this nature is current in Wabanaki folk-lore and has interesting possibilities as a topic for comparative study in Europe and Asia.

tinue with their plans for the annual wigwam festival. This message inspired the people and with renewed courage they set to work determined to carry out the old custom that it might please the spirits of the departed ones. The affair was a great success.

At the same time, while walking near our burying ground one day, I had the good fortune to pick up a perfect stone ax. Upon showing it to some of my relatives, several of them remarked that it was the spirit of one of my ancestors which led me to the spot where I found the ax. They believed it to be a sign of good luck and to encourage me in my work.

Messages from my brother who is in the spirit world are received quite frequently, by members of the family, in dreams.

To dream of snow and ice denotes good luck. Clear, running water denotes good luck; muddy water, ill luck.

To dream of vermin warns one of illness in the family.

Dreaming of snakes is a sign that you have enemies. If you kill the snake you can overcome your enemies.

Should anyone dream of a snake it is a sign of having an enemy. If on the next day the dreamer should kill a snake he would be able to thwart the evil design. This belief is shared by the Penobscot and their relatives in northern New England.

To see a broom standing near the door on the outside of a house indicates that the occupants are not at home or that they do not desire to see visitors.

#### DIVINATION

Certain individuals are able to localize water by means of a crotched stick of witch-hazel, wild apple or plum. Witch-hazel is also used as a divining rod for locating buried treasure.

It is an old custom at Mohegan for the men to carry a long staff when out walking. Years ago, before starting on a hunting trip, a man would stand his staff on the ground and let it fall in order to determine in which direction to go in pursuit of game.

At Mohegan there remains still a store of superstition and folk-lore covering many aspects of nature as well as human behavior.

The sayings are current, "When it rains and the sun is shining, dji'bai, 'devil,' is whipping his wife." "When it snows and the sun is shining, dji'bai, 'devil,' is picking his geese."

While these are manifestly European in origin, they have penetrated the traditions of several Algonkian tribes. An elaboration of the same sayings comes from the St. Francis Abenaki.<sup>7</sup>

Several unclassified notes are:

The Mohegan used to eat turtles, cooking them as other people do crabs, dropping them into a pot of boiling water.

---

<sup>7</sup> Information from Dr. A. I. Hallowell.

Bones of the skeleton of a snake are poisonous and should be buried when found, lest some one step on them.

Small birds are believed by some to ride upon the backs of the wild geese. The wide extent of this belief, both in America and the Old World, Doctor Speck has treated in an article on Bird-Lore of the Northern Indians, Public Lectures of Faculty of University of Pennsylvania, 1919-20 (Philadelphia, 1921).

### FOLK TALES

No explanation, I presume, is needed for the appearance in this paper of the few disconnected legends that follow. While they are for the most part of purely local bearing, some of them embody concepts of folk-lore fitting in with a wider distribution among the Algonkian peoples. All of them portray aspects of the native mind, adding to our lamentably meager store of information from the region. Other Mohegan tales, some of them of greater mythological value, were published in articles referred to in the list on page 206 of this paper (references c, e, g, i). Miss Tantaquidgeon is to be credited with having recorded many of them from her tribesfolk.

The Mohegan narrators were Mrs. Fielding, James Rogers, Amy Cooper (pl. 29, *c*), and Burrill Fielding (pls. 22, *a*; 28, *d*). The Poosepatuck tale was related to me (1900) by Mase Bradley; the Scatticook tales (1903) by Jim Harris (pl. 40, *b*).

### CAPTAIN KIDD AND THE PIRATES

#### MOHEGAN LEGENDS

In the days of Captain Kidd he and other buccaneers used to come up the Thames River in their boats and lie to during the periods of pursuit. Up there among the Indians they could pass the time pleasantly, and also find secluded regions wherein to bury their booty. So the Mohegans have some tales of these visits from the pirates which have furnished the motive for many nightly excursions to dreamt-of spots where treasure is thought to exist. Until this day futile attempts are made to lay hands on some of the gold that is said to be buried along the river shores.

One time two Mohegans, having dreamed of a certain spot where Kidd's money was buried, went down to the river with spades. They began their trench, and soon had the good fortune to disclose the top of a great iron box with a ring in it. Their surprise was so great that one of them said, "Here it is!" At that moment a tremendous black dog appeared at the rim of the pit and growled. At the same moment the chest vanished. The men were so terrified that they never tried to find the place again.

Sometimes the animal, instead of being a black dog, is a pig, and it has even been reported as a terrible-looking man with long robes and clotted hair. It is explained by the belief that Kidd, when he buried his loot, always killed some animal or man and threw him into the pit in order that his spirit might guard the spot.

The following are the instructions that must be observed by the treasure seeker, else his search end in disappointment and fright. The golden disclosure is only made in dreams, and those who are so fortunate as to be visited with one at once engage the help of a trusty friend. The treasure must be sought for in the exact place indicated by the dream. The searchers must provide themselves with a stake or nail to drive into the box the moment it is seen. And, above all, not a word must be spoken until the stake is securely fastened, else the whole thing will disappear and the guardian spirit be released upon the scene. If the taboos be properly kept, success is insured; but unfortunately no one has so far succeeded in keeping them and the treasure yet remains untouched.

A story is told about a family who occupied the house where Captain Fitch lately lived. It seems that Captain Kidd and a band of his followers stopped at this house once, and the mistress served them all with a hearty and bounteous dinner. After they had consumed it Captain Kidd arose, and after instructing the hostess to hold out her apron, poured gold pieces into it until the strings broke, as a reward for her goodness.

#### THUNDER FROM THE CLEAR SKY

Now, there was a time when an Indian man was a preacher here. He was Samuel Ashbow. He was a good man, but his wife was not a very good woman, being fond of "*α'nkapi*" (rum). For many years she was thus, and it made poor Ashbow very unhappy.

Then there came a certain time when something was going to happen; when something was going to happen from the sky. The Indians were helping a white man build a mill over on Stony Brook, and Ashbow used to go and help too. One time he took his wife along with him. Ashbow was a good man, but his wife had a bottle of "*α'nkapi*" hidden in her dress. She began to drink, and gave some to the other men. Ashbow only watched her a while, but soon got angry, and taking the bottle from her, threw it on a rock. It broke and the rum spilled on the earth. The wife became furious, and a few moments later, while Ashbow was stooping over a stone, she picked up a piece of rock and struck him on the forehead. He fell down with the blood streaming from him. Then there was a sharp clap of thunder from above, and all looked up, only to see a clear sky with a patch of cloud overhead only as large as a hand. It

was a sign to Ashbow's wife, and from that time she never drank rum, neither did the other men who heard the thunder. Ashbow got well.

#### THE WATER-TIGHT BASKET

An old Indian man wanted some cider. He went to a neighbor's house and was told that he could have as much as he could carry in his basket. It was a very cold day. The old man took his basket and went down to the brook and dipped the basket in the water. Then he took it out and let the water freeze on it. This he did many times until there was a thin coating of ice on the basket. Then he went back to show it to the man. This time he filled the basket with cider and the old man went home. (Collected by Gladys Tantaquidgeon, 1925.)

#### PETER SKY CHANGED TO A ROCK

##### SCATTICOOK LEGENDS

This is the story of Peter Sky. They said that he lived north of here. He used to go by a swamp that lay near a road. One dark night he and some one else went to town and got some whisky. Then they came down that road until they reached the swamp. They took their whisky down there and began to drink when they had found a nice place to sit on. Soon they fell to quarreling over their whisky, and in the fight that followed Pete was killed. The other Indian got away and was never heard of again. But the next day some people coming by found Pete's body there and a rock with a hole in it close by. That rock was never noticed much by the Indians thereafter until one dark and foggy night, when some of them went down to the swamp on their way home to drink something they had bought. They heard noises from the rock, and one of them poured some of the goods into the hole. Immediately there was a voice from the rock. It called for more, and they kept on pouring whisky in until the voice was the voice of a drunken man. That rock will "holler" now on foggy nights if you pour whisky into it.

#### THE STORY OF OLD CHICKENS

In the old days the Scatticooks were in the habit of going from these mountains down to the salt water at the mouth of the Housatonic for a few months every year to get their fish and oysters from the sound. They had a trail that ran on the west bank of the Housatonic until it reached the Cat's Paw falls near New Milford. There it crossed to the east bank, and so on to Long Island Sound.

The journey from here took two days and one night. There was a farm about a third the way down, where the Indians used to camp for the night when they came by. A white man had a barn there and they would often sleep in that.

So one night when an Indian named Chickens stopped there with his family, the man who owned the place, hearing the noise they made in the barn, called out and asked who was there. Old Chickens didn't hear him, so before long the man came out and opened the door a little. "Who is that? What's going on in there?" he shouted. "Oh nothing! nothing! It's only the Chickens!" said Old Chickens in reply.

#### THE MOHAWKS DECEIVED AT THE DEVIL'S DEN

##### NIANTIC LEGEND

There was a village of Niantic Indians near Long Island Sound on the Niantic River. They gave a tribute each year to the Mohawks, who bothered them from the north. On one occasion the Mohawks when they appeared found the Niantics ready for them. On the west bank of the river they had taken possession of a cave located on a southerly spur of the ridge. The cave is now known as the Devil's Den, near the town of Niantic. The narrow fissures in the rocks barred effectually the ingress of any large body of men, provided there were a few to oppose them. Consequently the Mohawks had to content themselves with a siege, in the hope of starving out the imprisoned Niantics. But soon from the chambers within a noise of pounding was borne to the ears of the besiegers. What could it be unless the wily Niantics in their flight to the cave had had the forethought to bring their mortars and corn with them, and were now pounding their "yokey." It was even so. Jeer after jeer was bestowed upon the besiegers by those within, and not being strong enough to force an entrance and destroy them, the Mohawks withdrew carrying their ravages to some other region.

#### THE SACHEM'S DAUGHTER TAKEN BY THE MOHAWKS

##### UNCACHOGUE (POOSEPATUCK) LEGEND

A Poosepatuck village was situated on the Suganeck River near the Great South Bay on Long Island. As was their custom, the Mohawks appeared one day before the town to gather tribute. The Poosepatucks decided to offer resistance, and made the enemy aware of it. So it was settled that they should engage in a battle. Should the Mohawks win they were to have the handsomest girl in the village as prize. Otherwise the Poosepatucks were to remain unmolested. The battle that ensued consumed a day. The Poosepatucks lost, and the sachem Tobagus's daughter, as the handsomest girl there, was carried away by the victors.

## PERSONAL NAMES

In the following lists I have arranged a series of personal names, mostly those of men, encountered in going over the historical literature on the Mohegan and allied tribes. Since several ethnological situations are concerned with personal names, especially such whose tribal identity is definitely established, those who have toiled with such questions will understand why they are included in my report. Translations for a few are attempted, based upon existing material in the dialects as well as upon knowledge of cognate dialects. Yet it is evident that the best attempts in this direction can result in nothing more than suggestions. In later times, among the descendants, some of these individual and personal names developed into family surnames. Synonyms and dates are given, though I have not arranged the tedious references to sources, most of which differ for each one.

## MOHEGAN

Uncas.	Cheepunt.	{ Weebax.
{ Choy Choy (1755).	Pegetowon.	{ Weebuck (1726).
{ Joy joy.	{ Tecommowas.	Shantup.
{ Chaw chaw (1741).	{ Tee-comm-waws.	Etow.
Mazeen.	Nannepoon.	Chapeto (1669).
Tantaquidgeon.	Uppuckquiantup (1786).	Ananpau (1669).
{ Cockaquid (1755).	{ Chuckhead.	Woncohus (1669).
{ Quaquid.	{ Jackeag (1755).	Oweneco.
{ Quaquaquid (1787).	{ Muhdommon (1755).	Mamohet (1715).
{ Occum.	Skeezucks. <sup>1</sup>	Wambawaug (1741).
{ Aucom.	{ Ashpo.	Py (1741).
{ Wequit (1755).	{ Ashbow.	Wanuho.
{ Wequat.	Wyyogs.	Nowequa.
Cochegan.	{ Bohema.	{ Manghauh wont (1714).
Wamponneage.	{ Bohemy (1848).	{ Manahawn (Johnson)
{ Hoscoat (1755).	Tuhamen (1674). <sup>2</sup>	{ (1723).
{ Hoscutt.	Sunseeto.	Brushell (Brushill).

## WESTERN NEHANTIC

Nonsuch.	Occuish.	Aganemo (1637).
Waukeet.	Sobuck.	

## EASTERN NEHANTIC

Wequashcook.	{ Ninigret.	{ Awasequin (1645).
Momojoshuck.	{ Niniglet.	{ Aumsaaquen.

<sup>1</sup> This is a family name at Mohegan, derived from a member of the Brotherton band two generations ago. Its meaning is "Little Eyes." The name is first mentioned in Drake's History of King Philip's War (1675-76) (Exeter (1834), p. 99). Little Eyes was one of the counsellors of Awashonks, the "Queen" of the Saconnet Indians. In 1675 he tried to slay Captain Church. Later he was captured by Church, and treated kindly (Drake, p. 104).

<sup>2</sup> W. De Loss Love, Samson Occum, and the Christian Indians of New England, 1899, p. 361, gives this as a Narragansett name (1746). This name is possibly significant as an evidence of the migration of people from southern New England in the eighteenth century to the St. Francis Abenaki in Canada. The family name Tahamont occurs among the latter.

## PEQUOT

Cujep (1638).	Mausaumpous.	Meazen (1832).
Poquiantup.	Pamatesick (1638).	Tassaquanot.
Cocheat.	Weaugonbiek.	Obechiquod.
{ Wyokes (1750).	{ Mononotto.	Wampushet.
{ Wyyogs.	{ Monowattuck.	Wopigwooit.
Wauby.	Kiswas.	Wequash (1634),
Nausipouck (1638).	Cassasinamon.	"Swan." <sup>3</sup>
Wincumbone (1637).	Momoho.	Tumsquash (1655).
Puttuquppuunek (1637).	Catapazet.	Metumpawett.
Pupompogs.	Cushamequin (1692).	Yowwematero.
Sassacus.	{ Scattup.	{ Kiness.
Kithansh.	{ Scadob (1694).	{ Kindness (1788).
Nanasquionwut.	Shantup (1820) (1848).	Poquoiam.

## REMARKS ON GRAMMATICAL MATERIAL

Occasional comments on Mohegan-Pequot grammar have been undertaken by Professor Prince and Doctor Michelson. The accompanying material permits some additional deductions to be made on points of structure, especially covering those emphasized by Doctor Michelson as somewhat determining features in the dialectic group to which Mohegan-Pequot belongs, namely, the imperative *-c* and inanimate plural *-tc*, *-c*, and the absence of *l*. I have attempted, consequently, in the following section to bring together some prominent illustrations of his points. It is evident from the recent material that Mohegan-Pequot fits the classification with Massachusetts-Narragansett he ascribes to it in his second paper <sup>4</sup> after he had cautiously alluded to such a probability in his first study. This warrants us, then, on the Algonkian dialectic chart he made, to extend the color representing Massachusetts-Narragansett over the uncolored Mohegan-Pequot area, though I should like to repeat what was meant to be sufficiently expressed in the introduction to this paper (pp. 214-215), that Mohegan-Pequot, while conforming to the characteristics of the larger (Massachusetts-Narragansett) grouping in its general characteristics, is more divergent from both than they are from each other, and peculiar to itself in some respects, on at least two phonetic points, *y* for *n*, and prominence of sonants in Mohegan-Pequot, a tendency toward nasalization before certain consonants (Moh.-Peq. *gapa'nc*, Nat. kuppash) and in some lexical and grammatical minor details (Moh.-Peq. locative *-k* and *-g* for Mass.-Narr. *-t*).

The analytic character of Mohegan is highly pronounced when compared in syntax with other eastern Algonkian languages. It is

<sup>3</sup> The authority for this translation is found in S. G. Drake, *Book of the Indians*, Boston (1837), Vol. II, p. 102. It is a most interesting and instructive term, as may be seen. The equivalent in St. Francis Abenaki is *wiguála* (J. Laurent, *Abenakis and English Dialogues*, Quebec, 1884, p. 38), which not only corroborates the meaning but gives a reason for supposing Pequot *-c(sh)* = Wabanaki *-l*.

<sup>4</sup> T. Michelson, *Int. Journ. Amer. Linguistics*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1917.



difficult to decide whether this condition is genuine or whether it is due to the broken condition of Mrs. Fielding's idiom. Her verbal auxiliaries (potential, negative, temporal) have more the nature of separate words than they do in the related eastern tongues. Her verbs are extremely noncomplicated.

In the following illustrations cognates with Massachusetts, Narragansett, and in some instances with other adjacent dialects, are added in parentheses when such are considered enlightening. The original spelling given in the sources is retained in the forms quoted. Most important would be a comparison with Mahican, which will be possible later when Doctor Michelson has published his texts and vocabularies. Some Mahican vocabularies of the eighteenth century are also available among the collections of manuscripts in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

Reverting to the mention of some of the morphological peculiarities which characterize the dialect, one of the interesting phonetic properties, and perhaps the most distinctive, is the *y* substitution, in Mohegan-Pequot, for *l*, *n*, and sometimes *r* in neighboring dialects. A few illustrations may be offered:

English	Mohegan-Pequot	Massachusetts (Natick)- Narragansett	Wabanaki (St. Francis)
We (inclusive) -----	gi'ya'u -----	kēnawun -----	ki'lu'na (Pen.).
Good -----	wi'gən -----	wunnegen -----	uli'gən.
Spoon -----	gi'ya'm'ən -----	kena'm, kuna'm, kunna'm.	
Breath -----	ya'cəwang -----	nashatunk -----	nasawoga'n.
Parched corn flour -----	yo'ki'g -----	nokik -----	
He is strong -----	mi'ki'gu -----	menuki -----	məli'kigu.
Yesterday -----	wi'yəngu -----	wunnunkwi -----	wlə'ngwe.
He gives -----	mi'yə' -----	nut -----	mi'lau.
Fire -----	wi'yu't -----		
It looks clear, nice -----	wi'yəngwad -----		uli'nəngwat.
Rain -----	zu'gəyan -----	sokanon -----	zo'gjan.
Tongue -----	wi'yən -----	wenan -----	wi'la'lo.
He thinks -----	(a) ya'təm -----	anantam -----	-la'ldamen.
I think -----	nətaiyə'təm -----	nuttenantamun -----	ndela'ldamən.
He works -----	aiki'kuzu -----	anakausu -----	alo'kəzu.
He gives -----	mi'zo (=mi'zi-) -----		mi'l-.
Hen -----	moie -----	monish -----	
Sorry -----	si'wa'təm -----		siwaldamen, re- pent.
Five -----	ni'pa'u -----	{ nepanna (Narr.) --- napanna (Nat.) ---	
Here, there -----	yudai', ni'dai' -----		yuda'li, ni'da'li.
He wishes it -----	tə'ntəm -----	ahchewontam -----	(Pen.) etewe'ld- amən.

The substitution of *y* for *r* and *l* is also shown by the treatment of English loan words.

rat-----	yats.	broom-----	bi'yu'm.
blanket-----	bi'yα'ŋgat.	Friday-----	bi'yaita.
plate-----	bi'yo'ti.	breakfast-----	bi'yo'djαpas.

From Mrs. Fielding's verbal forms, which are by no means complete, a tabulation of pronominal elements is as follows:

## MOHEGAN-PEQUOT PRONOMINAL TABLES

*Indicative mood, personal prefixes and terminations of the verb; as exhibited in the extant material*

Singular	I		thou, you	
Intransitive-----	nα-----		gα-----	
Me-----			gα=ni'	
Us, exclusive-----				
Us, inclusive-----				
Thee-----				
You-----				
Him-----	{ -α----- nα=owa-----		} gα=owa	
Them (animate)-----				
Them, it (inanimate)-----	-am-----			

Plural	he (animate)	it (inanimate)	they (animate)	they (inanimate)
Intransitive-----	{ -o, -zu----- wo-----	-yo (-yu)-----	{ -αg----- -wak, -wαg-----	} -c (sh)
Me-----	wo=αŋg-----			
Us, exclusive-----				
Us, inclusive-----				
Thee-----				
You-----	ga=αŋg-----			
Him-----	{ wo=owa----- -α-----	}		
Them (animate)-----	wo=αg-----		wo=wαg-----	
It (inanimate)-----	{ wo=αn----- -α-----	}	wo=nau-----	
Them (inanimate)-----	wo=αc-----			

A short list of Mohegan stems and morphological elements, with examples of their use from the texts and previously published lexical material, will prove serviceable for purposes of comparison.

*-wang* denotes the abstract noun. It is usually used with verbs in the third personal form (a). In another sense it does service as a verbal noun termination, "that which is so and so," or "that which does so and so" (b); and then passes over into an instru-

mental ending which is normally -ig. (c). (Mass.-Narr. (a, b) -waonk, -ōōonk; Wabanaki (a, b), -wangan, (c) -igan.)

- (a) gamu'duwanɡ----- theft.  
 mi'ki'ɡwanɡ----- strength.  
 wi'zawənɡ----- name.  
 ya'cawənɡ----- breath.  
 mi'teuwanɡ----- food.  
 natai'namənɡ----- my help.  
 ya'tamwanɡ----- thought.  
 ki'dasuwənɡ----- reading.  
 wu'skasuwənɡ----- writing.  
 wi'ya'mowanɡ----- health.
- (b) ga'ckateənɡ----- "that which passes over"; a supernatural manifestation resembling the "will-o'-the-wisp."  
 ban'i'dwanɡ----- knife.  
 da'kwənɡ----- corn mortar.  
 kwa'd'ənɡ----- throat.
- (c) ba'cki'ɡ----- gun ("that which explodes").  
 bumbai'ɡ----- binding strip on a basket ("runner" (?)).  
 gwu'nsnə'ɡ----- pestle ("long stone implement").  
 wu'skwi'ɡ----- book ("written").

-d functions apparently as a participial ending. (Mass.-Narr. -d, -t, Wabanaki, -t.)

- wa'djanə'd----- having; when they have.  
 ska'mə'd----- finding; when he finds.  
 wi'ya'm'amə'd----- feeling well; when one feels well.  
 da'pkud----- it being night; when it is night.  
 wi'ganud----- being good; anything good.  
 na'pud----- dying; when they die.  
 ai'wad----- being; things are so and so.  
 i'wad----- saying; as he says.  
 mi'teud----- eating; thing to be eaten.  
 na'tekawad----- looking for him; when you look for him.  
 bi'yund----- coming; when he comes here.  
 pa'daməd----- hearing; when one hears it.  
 wo'tod----- knowing; when we know.  
 a'b'əd----- staying; place where he is staying.  
 wu'stod----- making it.  
 yaɡwanə'ɣɡwad----- looking as though; appearing as.  
 wi'yəɣɡwad----- looking well; favorable.  
 zu'ganəɣɡwad----- looking like rain.  
 wi'yanəɣɡwad----- looking like favorable weather.  
 gi'zakəd----- daytime; it being day.  
 gu'pkwad----- cloudy day; it being a shut-in day.  
 Tea'nəmi'd----- excessive eating; a proper name of the Mohegan-Pequot trickster in mythology.

*-ian, -iun, -ian,* } subjunctive, pronominal termination, used evi-  
*-yan, -yun, -yan* } dently for first and second personal forms.

<i>takwa'di'an</i> -----	when drunk; literally, "when hit" ( <i>takwa'</i> ). <sup>1</sup>
<i>wə'mbu'nsi'yan</i> -----	if I live in the morning.
<i>sosə'n'ian</i> -----	if you are tired.
<i>məs nəpu'yun</i> -----	when you will die; if you should die.
<i>da'bi gami'tciyan</i> -----	can you eat it?
<i>mədamə'moyan</i> -----	when I do not feel well.
<i>yə'ndayun</i> -----	when I am hungry.
<i>woto'n</i> -----	as (he) can know.
<i>nugataiyə'nə</i> -----	how may you be? a formal salutation.

There are a number of verbal forms showing a *-mo* element, which can not well be explained from this material itself.

<i>wa'camuc</i> -----	growing; are plenty; abound.
<i>ba'keamo</i> -----	it broke away (referring to rain clouds).
<i>ni'ya'yomo</i> -----	that is ever so.
<i>nəyə'ndamo</i> -----	I was hungry; I kept getting hungry.
<i>yə'ndamo</i> -----	being hungry.
<i>wi'ya'm'amo</i> -----	feeling (feels) well.
<i>bi't'əmo</i> -----	coming; comes.
<i>gwi'ksumo</i> -----	he whistles; whistling.

*-nc,* } imperative ending. (Mass.-Narr. *-(a)c ((a) sh)*; Wabanaki  
*-c,* } no correspondent; Mahican *-n.*)

<i>gapə'nc</i> -----	close it; shut (the door).
<i>zawi'e</i> -----	go out.
<i>gata'mkie</i> -----	get up.
<i>bi'yanc</i> -----	} come.
<i>bi'yac</i> -----	
<i>djoi'kwic</i> -----	hurry up.
<i>mada'pe</i> -----	sit down.
<i>kwagkwi'e</i> -----	run.
<i>pa'name</i> -----	put it down.
<i>pu'nanc</i> -----	place it.
<i>a'mape</i> -----	sit down.
<i>ka'wic</i> -----	go to sleep.
<i>i'wac</i> -----	say it.
<i>ka'teitac</i> -----	} wash (yourself).
<i>gi'etutac</i> -----	
<i>gə'danc</i> -----	take off.
<i>ki'nanc</i> -----	carry it.
<i>djuwai'yac</i> -----	warm yourself.
<i>ka'mame</i> -----	look at it.
<i>na'nteidac</i> -----	go after; go seek.
<i>kwa'tetame</i> -----	taste it.
<i>sagwi'e</i> -----	come in.
<i>yundja'name</i> -----	open it.
<i>ma'kaname</i> -----	pick it.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting correspondence is Penobscot, *taga'məci*, literally "hit yourself," which means "take a drink."

(a) *wi'gi-* { (a) desiderative, (b) intensive prefix denoting good,  
 (b) *wi-* { favorable. ((b) = Mass.-Narr. *wuni-*; Wab. *uli-*; (a)  
 Moh.-Peq. *wi'gi* = Wab. *wi'gi*.)

<i>wi'gan</i> .....	it is good.
<i>wi'go</i> .....	he is good.
<i>wi'kteu</i> .....	he is handsome.
<i>wi'ktam</i> .....	he loves.
<i>wi'gina'wa</i> .....	I like to see him.
<i>wi'gitaga'm</i> .....	I wish to hit him.
<i>wi'ganta</i> .....	it is light.
<i>wi'ya'mo</i> .....	to feel well.
<i>wi'yanagwa'd</i> .....	it looks clear.
<i>wi'teu</i> .....	he laughs.
<i>wi'gatac</i> .....	well cooked.
<i>wi'ksaba'gad</i> .....	sweating.
<i>wi'munai</i> .....	it is true, indeed.
<i>wigwo'san</i> .....	good day (salutation).

-ac, -c, inanimate plural suffix. (Mass.-Narr. -*sh*, Wab. -*al*.)

<i>gi'zakade</i> .....	days.
<i>ma'kasane</i> .....	moccasins.
<i>skane</i> .....	bones.
<i>manu'dac</i> .....	baskets.
<i>kandi'c</i> .....	legs.
<i>padi'nc</i> .....	arms.
<i>wi'dji'c</i> .....	hands.
<i>wo'mane</i> .....	eggs.
<i>ni'zi'zane</i> .....	twos.
<i>sane</i> .....	stones.
<i>yuc</i> .....	these (inanimate).
<i>tca'gwane</i> .....	things.
<i>wi'co'gwane</i> .....	hairy.
<i>madwi'gatac</i> .....	(things) not cooked.

-ag, -nag, animate plural suffix.

<i>ga'usanag</i> .....	cows.
<i>gi'tasag</i> .....	cattle.
<i>dji'tsag</i> .....	birds.
<i>moi'cag</i> .....	hens.
<i>i'nag</i> .....	men.
<i>Mohi'ksi'nag</i> .....	Mohegans.

-*san*.(i) denotes prostrate position. (Mass.-Narr. -*sin*; Wab. .

-*as'in*.

<i>nizama'ksan</i> .....	I lie down.
<i>niso'san'i</i> .....	I am tired.
<i>da'ksan'i</i> .....	to fall down.
<i>ba'ckaco'san</i> .....	to fall down.
<i>ba'ckaziti'co'san</i> .....	(Nehantic) to fall down.

-i', an element which terminates independent forms, verbal auxiliaries, adverbs, and adjectives. It functions as an inanimate pronominal form. (Similar in the neighboring and in the Wabanaki dialects.)

tea'ntci'	must; it is necessary.
su'mi'	because.
oca'mi'	too much; it is excessive.
ka'dji'	already; it has become.
wa'dji'	so that; in order that.
da'bi'	can; be able.
ba'ki'	perhaps; maybe.
mi'tci'mi'	always.
dja'ci'	so much. (French <i>tant</i> .)
tei'wi'	nearly.
ga'ta'wi'	about to; going to; will.
gi'zi'	has; finished.
mo'wi'	going to; motion toward.
ma'ta'wi'	much; very.
wu'tci'	from.
unda'i'	then; conjunction.
nida'i'	there; then.
yuda'i'	here; now.
doda'i'	where.
ga'ntci'	it is big.
ma'tci'	[it is] bad.
dja'tci'	half; partly.

*dja-*, *tca-* } intensive element with a derogative sense. (Mass.  
*tce-* ' } *chah*; Wab. *-dja-* (*-dje-*), objurgative.)

Tca'nami'd	glutton; excessive eater. (The Mohegan-Pequot mythological trickster.)
tce'nambai'ckudu	he is very bad; no good!
waikadja'maŋk	oh, my gracious! (Exclamation of sudden surprise.)
wa'kaɖjanə'k	(Nehantic) pshaw! Corresponds to the preceding.